E.N. NADZHIP

MODERN UIGUR

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U.S.S.R. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental Studies

LANGUAGES
OF ASIA
AND AFRICA

The series was founded

by Prof. G. P. SERDYUCHENKO

E. N. NADZHIP

MODERN UIGUR

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Hungary.

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Dr. E.N. Nadzhip's Modern Uigur is a comprehensive survey of Uigur - a Turkic language spoken in Sinkiang.

The book includes a study of Uigur's history, literature and genetic relationships, as well as a description of Uigur phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax.

The description is based on original sources which makes the book valuable for all specialists in Turkology and related fields.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

The "Languages of Asia and Africa" series was founded in 1959 by the late Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko under whose general supervision more than 75 languages monographs were published. These publications met with considerable interest among the Soviet and foreign readers.

After Prof. G.P. Serdyuchenko's death the publication of the series continues under the Editorial Board.

The monographs comprising the series describe either the living languages of African and Asian countries or the languages of the past which played an important historical role in the life and culture of the peoples of the East.

The series is intended for a broad circle of linguists and historians – research workers and post-graduate students as well as lecturers and undergraduates of the Oriental, philological and historical departments of the universities. The monographs may be useful for readers interested in general linguistics or studying Oriental languages.

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1966

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(E.R. Tenishev, B. Kh. Todayeva, *The Languages of the Yellow Uigurs*).

1967

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(Yu.N. Zavadovsky, *The Berber Language*).

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1968

С.Х. Кямилев, *Марокканский диалект арабского языка.*
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(E.V. Puzitsky, *The Kachin (chingpho) Language*).

The Editorial Board has undertaken the publication of the series in English. So far the following essays have appeared:

1965

I.M. Diakonoff, *Semito-Hamitic Languages*

1966

M.S. Andronov, *The Tamil Language*

1967

V.V. Ivanov, V.N. Toporov, *Sanskrit*

S.N. Sokolov, *The Avestan Language*

1969

M.S. Andronov, *The Kannada Language*

V. Krupa, *The Maori Language*

We beg readers to address their wishes and criticisms to: Editorial Board of the "The Languages of Asia and Africa", Central Department of Oriental Literature, "Nauka" Publishing House, Armyanski Pereulok 2, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

INTRODUCTION

The bulk of the Uigur population now live in the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous region in the far north-west of the People's Republic of China. The area of the region is more than 1.5 million sq.km. which is the fifth part of the entire territory of China.

Along with the Uigurs (approximately 3.6 million people or 70% of the total population of the region) fourteen other national groups live in Sinkiang, including Chinese, Mongols, Dungans, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Tatars. [1] The fact that so many peoples and tribes with different cultures, customs and languages have continuously occupied the same territory naturally led to ethnic and linguistic intermixing. This process of intermixing in Sinkiang resulted in the formation of a separate Kirghiz-Mongol nationality in the north-western part of the autonomous region. These people are Kirghiz in origin but took over from their Mongol neighbours their language, customs and religion. At the same time part of the Mongols became bilingual in the Kazakh environment and use Kazakh not only in offices and at meetings but also at home. In the Altai there is a small (200 people) Qoqmončaq nationality speaking a mixed Kazakh-Mongol-Solon vernacular. Similarly the Mongols of the Xoitï tribe, in the Uigur environment, adopted Islam, forgot their language

[1] In recent years after a large number of the Chinese were moved from inland China into Sinkiang and part of the national minority population settled in the USSR, the proportion changed considerably.

and became completely Uigurized.[2] Naturally, the Uigurs are no exception in this respect, although their numerical predominance played an important role in that they kept speaking their language. At the same time Uigur could not escape the influence of the languages of the surrounding peoples.

About 120 thousand Uigurs who came from East Turkestan now live in the Soviet Union, mainly in the Kazakh SSR and partly in the Uzbek SSR.

Uigur belongs to the eastern group of the Turkic languages. According to S.E. Malov historically Uigur is the language of the Yellow Uigurs who number about 3,800 and now live in the Kansu province of China. Unlike the main body of the Uigurs, the Yellow Uigurs are not Muslims, but shamanists and Buddhists; their language may be said to reflect the earliest period of the Uigur language. The language of the Old Uigur written monuments may be described as the Old Uigur language; finally there is Modern Uigur, referred to as the New Uigur language. Between Old and New Uigur there is the Qarluq-Uigur language — the language of the written monuments of the Qarakhanid period, the language of the eastern part of the Qarakhanid state, in particular the language of "Kutadgu-bilig", an 11th century literary monument.

The language of the Soviet Uigurs differs in some respects from that of the Chinese Uigurs due to the fact that Soviet Uigurs live among other Turkic-speaking nations (Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, etc.). The linguistic influence of Russian adds to this differentiation.

The present work is a survey of the language of the Uigurs residing in the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous region of the Chinese People's Republic with some digressions into the language of the Soviet Uigurs.

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[2] These facts were given in the report of the late Professor G.P.Serdyuchenko, which he delivered in China and published in Uigur in Urumchi.

The history of the Yigur writing. As early as the 7th century A.D. the Uigurs employed their own system of writing apparently based on the New Sogdian alphabet. Later the Uigur writing was adopted (with certain changes) by the Manchus and Mongols. Apart from this system of writing the Uigurs knew the Runic writing.

In the 11th-12th centuries, under the Qarakhanides, the Uigurs began to use widely the Arabic writing. However, the Uigur writing was still used in Central Asia, Horossan and the Golden Orda up to the 16th century, and the Yellow Uigurs retained it up to the 19th century.

Under the Qarakhanides Kashgar became one of the cultural centres of the state along with such Central Asian cities as Samarkand, Bokhara, etc.

During the Mongol conquest the Uigurs emerged as a potent cultural force and exerted a powerful influence not only on their Mongol conquerors but on many other Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia and the Golden Orda.

Early in the 15th century the western and southern parts of East Turkestan including the cities of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan came under the rule of the Timurides. Under the Timurides East Turkestan with its Uigur population continued to develop as one of the advanced regions in the cultural respects.

In the Central Turkic literature of the 14th-16th centuries the impact of the Uigur literary tradition and language is very strong. This was felt throughout the subsequent centuries and not only on the territory of Central Asian states.

Many historical reasons account for the fact that even the ethnic name of the Uigurs was forgotten, and both the territory and its population—the Uigurs—assumed widely varying names. The Uigurs began to associate themselves with the place of their habitations. Thus, such names as Kašqarlïq, Turfanlïq,

Xotanliq, etc. edged out a single national name[3] In the Russian Orientalistic literature this territory is traditionally called East Turkestan. Since the thirties of the 19th century the country is sometimes referred to as the Altïšar, or the Land of the Six Cities. This might be connected with the fact that Xodža Danial, the Oirat deputy to East Turkestan, appointed his xaqim to six cities in his country in 1828.

The Uigurs adopted the Arabic writing with the additional symbols used in the alphabets of the Iranian-speaking peoples which employ the Arabic script:

As the Arabic script did not correspond to the phonemic inventory of Uigur many attempts at reforming the alphabet and orthography were made at the beginning of this century.

At first additional symbols were introduced to render vowel phonemes in purely Uigur words, while Arabic and Persian borrowings retained their original orthography. Soon, however, this rule was extended to cover these loan-words as well. Then the letters ث، ذ، ص، ض، ط، ظ were removed from the Uigur alphabe as rendering specifically Arabic sounds. At the next stage

[3] This practice continued up to May-June 1922, when the Tashkent conference of the Soviet Uigurs decided to bring the forgotten ethnonym "Uigur" back to life, and the term Uigur, referring both to the people and the language, was adopted. This signified that it is the modern Uigurs who are the heirs to the Old Uigurs- the creators of the outstanding cultural values of the past that exercised a powerful influence on the cultural development of a number of Turkic-speaking nations. There was no single name for the Uigurs in Chinese. During the Tang dynasty the Uigurs were called "Yuan-ho", "Wu-hu", "Wei-ho", "Wu-ho", "Hwei-ho", "Hwei-ku". During the Sung dynasty the Uigurs were mainly known as "Hwei-ku". Under the Yuan and Ming dynasties the name "Wei-wueer" began to be applied to the Uigurs. Under the Tsing dynasty the Uigurs were called "Hwei" or "Ch'an-hwei". Until the thirties of this century the Uigurs were called "Wu-ku", "Wei-wu", "Kui-ku" and "Wai-wu". Only after the Kien militarist clique was overthrown in Urumchi in 1933 and a new provincial government was formed, was it decided (in 1934) to call the Uigurs "Wai-wu-er" only. (The latter data have also been taken from the late Prof. Serdyuchenko report).

of the reform the letters ح and ع were also removed. As a result of the reform the new Uigur alphabet based on the Arabic script presents the following picture[4]:

م ل گ ک ق ف غ ش س ژ ز ر د خ چ

m l n g k q f R š s ž z r d x c

ن و و و ھ ی ئا ئە ب پ ت ج

d3 t p b ä a j i-i e h v u/ü o/ö n

2)

On December 11, 1959 a new draft alphabet for Uigur was adopted at the Second Conference of linguists of the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous region. The draft was based on the Roman alphabet and the new transcription system for Chinese, which is also Roman in origin. The draft envisages a new Romanized Uigur alphabet of 33 letters, 27 of which are identical with the corresponding letters of the transcription alphabet for Chinese, while the remaining six are used to render certain specific sounds of Uigur:

Aa	Ää	Bb	Cc	Dd	Ee	Ff	Gg	Qq	Hh	Hh	Ii	Jj
a	ä	b	ts	d	e	f	g	R	x	h	i	d3
Kk	Kk	Ll	Mm	Nn	Oo	Öö	Pp	Qq	Rr	Ss	Šš	Tt
k	q	l	m	n	o	ö	p	c	r	s		t
Üü	Vv	Ww	Xx	Yy	Zz	Zz						
ü	lab. dent. v	bilab. w	s	j	z	z						

The letters "c" and "v" as well as the digraphs "zh"/čž/, "ch"/čš/ and "sh" /š/ introduced into the new alphabet are used to render the corresponding sounds in loan-words, mostly of the Chinese origin.

[4] The modern alphabet of the Soviet Uigurs is based on the Cyrillic script and has 41 letters: Аа, Бб, Вв, Гг, Ғғ, Дд, Ее, Ёё, Жж, Җҗ, Зз, Ии, Кк, Ққ, Лл, Мм, Нн, Ңң, Оо, Өө, Пп, Рр, Сс, Тт, Уу, Үк, Фф, Хх, Һһ, Цц, Чч, Шш, Щщ, ъ, ы, ь, Ээ, Юю, Яя

The literary language and the dialects. Until recently Turkologists held the view that Uigur (or East Turki) had many dialects: Kashgar-Yarkand, Ili, 'Aqsu, Khotan, Turfan, and Lob-Nor. S.E. Malov used the term "vernacular" (or "sub-dialect" - narečie) to designate what is commonly known as the dialect. Xami and Kučar were included into the category.

Traditionally the Kashgar dialect has been considered to be the basis of the new Uigur literary language in the process of formation. Previously the Kashgar dialect has served as a basis for the Old Uigur literary language. This traditional notion accounted for the fact that normative grammars of Uigur were oriented towards the Kashgar dialect; however, the usage of the newspapers and magazines which were published in Čuǯučaq was under a marked Tatar, Kazakh and Uzbek influence (in phonetics, vocabulary and even grammar).

After the formation of the Chinese People's Republic the dialect of the Ili began to exert an ever greater influence on the Uigur literary language.

In 1956-1957 the dialects and sub-dialects of the modern Uigur language were studied under the auspices of the Institute for the study of national minority languages of the Chinese People's Republic Academy of Sciences. The study revealed that only the language of the population of Khotan and Lob-Nor can be described as dialects sensu stricto; other "dialects" (of Kashgar, Ili, Khami, 'Aqsu, Yarkand) have only phonetical differences, while grammatical and lexical differences are, as a rule, scarce. For that reason all these dialects may be classed as sub-dialects of a single central dialect which now forms the basis of the literary language.

Note. As far as the Yellow Uigurs, Salars and Dolans are concerned their languages at the present time must be regarded as separate languages of the Uigur group rather than dialects of modern Uigur.

As has been mentioned, the language of the Yellow Uigurs reflects the ancient period of Uigur. The Yellow Uigurs live mainly in the province of Kansu far away from their kin, in the Chinese and Mongolian environment. They are shamanists and Buddhists, not Muslims. For the following reasons the languages of these Uigurs will not be discussed even in the comparative aspect. E.R. Tenishev asserts that at the present time only a fraction of this small tribe have retained their Turki language. They call themselves Saric-Yugur and their vernacular includes many Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian elements. Another part of this tribe - Sira-Yugur - speak Mongolian, still another fraction of the Sira-Yugur use Tibetan. Finally, there is a group which speaks Chinese. According to E.R. Tenishev the Turki language of the Saric-Yugur should be classified as one of the north-eastern group of the Turkic languages, the group of Khakass and Shor.

This tenet of E.R. Tenishev certainly rules out S.E. Malov's supposition that the language of the Yellow Uigurs is closer to Kirghiz rather than Uigur. According to S.E. Malov, this language is either an Uigur language which underwent a strong Kirghiz influence or an altogether different language.

The same reason explains why the languages of the Dolans and Salars differing drastically from modern Uigur are not included within the scope of this study. The Dolans live in the oasis of 'Aqsu. Travellers who had visited this oasis earlier thought that the Dolans were a Mongolian tribe. S.E. Malov wrote that he searched for 'something Kirghiz' in the language of the Dolans but failed. However, in his opinion, there are certain 'Kirghiz' elements in the language of the Dolans.

The Salars live as a compact group on the southern bank of the Hwang Ho in the Tsinghai province. An insignificant number of the Salars live scattered in the north-west of the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous region and in other parts of Tsinghai. Their total number does not exceed 30,000. By now Salar has been exhaustively studied by E.R.Tenishev.

The language of the Old Uigur written monuments is treated in this book only in isolated cases when a historical background is needed.

S.E.Malov does not regard the Lob-Nor language as a dialect of Uigur. He assumes the affinity of Lob-Nor with the language of the Yellow Uigurs, and thinks that the two languages may be regarded as one taking into consideration many common historical features which in turn influenced the respective languages. These are two ancient languages, and the Lob-Nor language is the old colloquial language of the ancient Kirghiz (Here and below spacing added E.N.). Then he groups together the Yellow Uigurs and the ancient Kirghiz—the Lob-Noris.

In another place he writes that "the Lob-Nor language is very difficult to join to the Uigur language of the Uigur Muslims of the Chinese Turkestan. The only common element here is vocabulary".

Thus, S.E. Malov regards the Lob-Noris as a people with its own special language, while the Chinese and Uigur turkologists regard it as one of the three main dialects of modern Uigur rather than an independent language.

The Loptuqs of the Lob-Nor are Muslims. Their language as well as that of the majority of the Uigurs includes many Arabic and Farsi words.

Modern Uigur although it has a number of dialects is a uniform language of a single nation with common characteristic features which distinguish it from other Turkic languages.

Turkic languages all go back to a common origin and share common historical heritage. They come from a Turkic proto-language spoken by the ancestors of modern Turkic peoples. All Turkic languages, especially those entering a common linguistic group inside the Turkic family, are quite close even now so that their speakers can freely understand each other. One is struck by the remarkable affinity of the most ancient strata of their vocabulary, separate grammatical forms and word combinations. For instance, all modern Turkic languages retained common ancient words for such parts of the human body as *köz* 'eye', *qol* 'hand', *ajaq* 'foot', or such verbs as *almaq* 'to take', *kormaq* 'to see', *kätmäk* 'to go', *kälmäk* 'to come', etc. Such words have only

minor phonetic differences in various Turkic languages.

Uigur occupies a special place among other Turkic languages with the exception of Yakut and Chuvash. Modern Uigur is closest to Uzbek. Historically the medieval Uigur written literary language was close to medieval Chagatay.

Uigur is distinguished from other Turkic languages by its grammatical and lexical peculiarities. Its phonemic structure, specifically the system of vowels, differs sharply from that of other Turkic languages.

As all Turkic languages Uigur is a language with a harmony of vowels. Until recently Uigur occupied an intermediary stage between synharmonic and non-synharmonic Turkic languages as far as the degree of vocalic harmony was concerned. Now the cases of violation of this "inviolable" law of all Turkic phonetics have sharply increased.

Uigur is an agglutinative language. In these languages affixes are joined to the end of the word and both in form- and word-building the root of the word remains unchanged. However, now in almost all Turkic languages this strict rule is sometimes being modified (the k/g alternation during affixation at the end of the word, the dropping of the narrow i-vowel in the same cases, etc.). In this respect Uigur also occupies a special position among Turkic languages. Here there are numerous cases of the violation of this rule. As a result of assimilation, affixation, stress transfer, elision and contraction, etc. the stem-root sometimes is changed beyond recognition.

A complex process of interaction and interference between the sub-dialects and the literary language is now taking place in Uigur: the literary language is being enriched while its elements in their turn penetrate local dialects and the vernacular. At the same time the spread of newspapers and magazines as well as radio and education throughout the region leads to a gradual elimination of differences between dialects and the literary language and between dialects themselves.

At the present stage of development of literary Uigur the choice of vocabulary, certain grammatical rules, orthoepic and

especially orthographic norms are not always regulated by strict rules and cannot be considered fully stable.

Characteristic features of Uigur. Modern Uigur is characterized by certain specific features which single it out among other Turkic languages.[5]

The vocabulary of Uigur contains many archaisms and purely Uigur words which are not attested in other modern Turkic languages. The following words may serve as examples: *sajsa* 'now', *sajlqï* 'olden', *äŋgizä* 'after', *žïq* 'many', *xojma* 'very' *tadan* 'cheat, swindler', *zizä* 'after, then', *udul* 'straight', etc. The Old Turkic *taquğu* 'hen' (cf. modern *tavuq*) is preserved here in the form *toxu* (i.e. in the form closest to the archaic prototype). A number of Common Turkic roots are represented in Uigur as formations which are not found elsewhere in Turkic languages. Thus, Uigur *käŋri* "wide' is formed from the Common Turkic word *kaŋ* by means of the old affix of the Lative case. The word *texicä* 'until', 'as yet' is formed from the Common Turkic *täqi/däxi (daha)* by means of the affix of delimitation *čä*. The words *šunlašqa* 'therefore' and *šunčuvala* 'to the degree' are formed from the Common Turkic demonstrative pronoun *šu/šul/šol* 'this here' by means of composite affixes. The Uigur *turğu* 'position' (e.g. *sinpi turgu* 'class position', *tomaša turgusïdïn* 'in the position of an on-looker') is formed from the Common Turkic verb *tur-* 'to stand' by means of the old affix of the name of action *-ğu*. The same verb combined with the affixes *-(u)ğu--luq* gives the word *turğuluq*. The latter in the combination with the pronominal adverb *šundaq* 'so' gave the adverbial expression *šundaq turguluq* 'if so', 'thus', 'therefore'. The Uigur *tälik* 'linen' derives from the Persian *tän* 'body' plus the affix *lik*. The Common Turkic *put / but* 'foot' gave the derivative word *putlaš* 'to stumble' in Uigur,while in other Turkic languages it is not attested.

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5 About the place of Uigur among other Turkic languages cf. ...

A typical feature of Uigur which singles it out among other Turkic languages is a considerable number of derivative verbs from the Common Turkic nouns which are either absent in other Turkic languages or have a different pattern of formation. Thus, other Turkic languages have the verb *tüškör-* 'to dream' derived from the stem *tüš-* 'dream', while in Uigur the derivative verb is *tüšä-* and the name of action is *tusas* 'dreaming' (cf. *ägär bir kišï tüšidä ärăp padišalarinï tüšisä...* 'if someone sees Arab padishahs in his dream...'); the verb *küčlä-* 'to use violence', 'to rape' is formed in other languages from the stem *küč-* 'strength', while in Uigur the verb is *küčä- / Japonjanï qural landurušqa küčäp* 'forcing (lit. raping) Japan to rearm'/; the verb *könirä-* and not *könilän-* came from *könä* 'old', etc.

In many cases the substantive and the verbal stem are formally identical, e.g. the name of action *tamčaš* is formed by joining the affix *-š* directly to the substantive *tamča* 'drop'.

The characteristic feature of the vocabulary of Uigur is a great number of borrowings from Chinese, the overwhelming majority of which are not attested in other Turkic languages (with the natural exception of such languages as Kazakh, Kirghiz, etc. as spoken by the corresponding peoples living inside China).

The vocabulary of Uigur contains many innovations: shifts of meaning in older words, loan-translations, especially in translations from Chinese. The following examples will serve as illustrations.

The words *ečil-* 'to open' and *sajra-* 'to sing (only about birds)' are common to all Turkic languages; now the combination *ečilïš-sajraš* is used in Uigur only in its transferred meaning: 'to speak openly what is on one's mind'. The word *boxča* earlier meant only 'little bag', while now it acquired a transferred meaning 'small soul' (*šäxsijätčilik boxčisï* 'a small, egoistic soul'). The word combination *säkrăp ilgiriläš* (lit. 'to move forward in leaps') has acquired the meaning 'leap forward' (political). The combination *sün'i hämra* 'artificial sattelite' is also used in a transferred sense 'advanced worker', 'shock-worker'>'record'

which in its turn produces a compound verb *sün'i hämra qoj-* 'to set up a record'.

The following neologisms are formed from the roots found in other Turkic languages: *žilliqči* 'farm labourer', 'hired labourer', *kitapčiliq* 'bookishness' (political), 'worthless writings' (cf. *kitapčiliq üčün kitap jaz-* 'to write a book only for the sake of writing'), etc.

Some formations which are not found in other Turkic languages are of certain interest: *kommunizmči* 'adherent of communism', 'sympathetic to communism', *kommunistlaštürüš* 'to re-educate in communist spirit', *kommunizmliq* 'communistic', *süb'jektimizmlik* 'subjectivist', *mäzhäpčilik* 'sectarianism' (political)[6].

Attention should also be paid to the derivative verbs formed from such words as *ašxana* 'canteen', *harva* 'cart', *qizil* 'red', 'communist' which are not attested in other Turkic languages: *ašxanalaštur-* 'to provide with canteens' (lit. 'to canteenize'), *harvilašturuš* 'provision with means of traction' (lit. 'cartization'), *qizillaštur-* 'to re-educate in the spirit of revolution', *kommunistlaštur-* 'to re-educate in the communist spirit' (lit. 'to communize'), etc. Adjectives of the type *kommunistik* only recently commonly used are now being replaced by new formations of the type *kommunizmlik* with the same meaning 'communist', cf. *kommunizmlik dunja qaras* 'communist outlook'.

Contraction of forms, which is sometimes found in other Turkic languages (e.g. Kazakh) as well, is widely spread in Uigur. Uigur compound verbs are contracted to such an extent that the significative verb retains only its initial syllable or even sound which, combined with the gerundival suffix, may form a closed syllable.

A typically Turkic immutability of the root is often violated in the Uigur word-building and inflection.

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6 *mayhap* 'religious sect' borrowed from Arabic has undergone a shift of meaning.

Certain nouns and pronouns may have two declension patterns which is a trait common to both Uigur and Mongolian; another phenomenon sometimes found in certain Turkic languages as well as in Mongolian is the ability of the Uigur case forms to join word-building affixes. These facts may apparently be traced back to the period of the Mongol-Uigur linguistic unity.

Some tense forms are purely endemic and have no correspondence in other Turkic languages.

All the above-mentioned features of Uigur will be discussed in the corresponding sections of the book.

On the history of the development and study of the Uigur language and culture. It was Mahmud Kasgari who actually initiated the study of Uigur as early as the second half of the 11th century. In his fundamental "Dictionary of the Turkic languages" he was the first to give very valuable information on the vocabulary of Uigur and its grammatical pattern along with the similar data on other Turkic languages. The author's commentaries are accompanied by numerous examples among which folk-lore materials occupy a considerable part.

Later, beginning with the 14th century, numerous dictionaries and grammars of the Turkic languages were compiled in Central Asia and Egypt. All of them to a certain extent reflected the phonetics, grammar and vocabulary of Uigur. Ibn-Muhanna's dictionary and grammar written in Arabic are especially noteworthy. European scholars began to study the Uigur writing (and in this connection the language) in the twenties of the 19th century.

The monuments of Uigur preserved to date were recorded either in the Arabic or Uigur script. Monuments recorded in the Arabic script reflect a thoroughly Muslim ideology as a rule.

The very first monuments written in the Uigur script were of the Buddhist origin: religious books were translated from Tibetan. While Uigur scripts may refer to the Muslim, as well as Buddhist, Christian or Manichean ideologies; some monuments of the Muslim contents use both the Arabic and Uigur scripts.

betan, Sanskrit and Chinese. Thus, linguistic contacts between Uigur and Chinese may be dated according to the chronology of the existing monuments. In the 5th century A.D. Manichean book find their way to the Uigurs with the help of the Sogdians. Accordingly, it was in this period that elements of Sogdian (and later its successors - Tajik and Farsi) started to be absorbed b Uigur. Thus, a number of borrowings from Sogdian are found in "The Expiatory Prayer of the Manicheans" (a translation from Sogdian - 5th century): *bristi* (Farsi *fərištā*) 'angel', *dintar* 'Far *dindar*) 'pious', etc.

In the 8th century (763 year) first Manichean communities among the Uigurs were established. This resulted in the increas ed influence of the Tajik elements on Uigur. Later official papers of various contents began to use the Uigur script.

Christianity was also common among the Uigurs. Fragmen of Christian writings were found in Central Asia and published by F.W.K. Muller and A. Lecocq. They include an excerpt from t New Testament about the adoration of the Magi and an admonition against sins and temptations. Christian books were also translated from Sogdian. This enriched Uigur (still in the pre-Islamic period of its development) with new, Iranian, elements- mainly religious terms and concepts.

Thus, in its initial period literary Uigur developed in the process of translating religious texts from Chinese, Tibetan, Sogdian, and Sanskrit.

As the result of his study of the Uigur version of Suvarna- prabhasa W.W. Radlow came to the conclusion that written literary Uigur took on its final form in the 8th-10th centuries, and was preserved without any changes in monasteries which trans- lated and copied religious texts.

Muslim books written in the Arabic script appear in the 11th century, with the penetration of Islam into East Turkestan where it later became the religion of the whole Uigur people.

The poem "Kutadgu bilig" which Yusuf Balasaguni, its author, finished in 1096 was, probably, the first literary monum

of Uigur that reflected the influence of Islam. The monument exists in three copies: the copy written in the Uigur script is kept in Vienna, while the two copies in the Arabic script are kept, respectively, in Cairo and Tashkent. The Uigur script copy dates from 1439 and was compiled in Gerat; H. Jauber, H. Vambery and W. Radlow have all studied this copy. Recently all three original copies of "Kutadgu bilig" have been published in Turkey with the accompanying Turkish translation.

The next major monument of Uigur is "Hibat ul-haqajiq" ("Gift of truths"), a didactical poem by Ahmad Adib. The poem is not dated; content and linguistic analysis helps to trace its origin to the end of the 12th- the beginning of the 13th century. The poem reached the twentieth century in several versions in both Arabic and Uigur scripts. A monographic study has been published in Turkey which includes all versions of "Hibat ul-haqajiq" with a Turkish translation and vocabulary.

An important monument of the Uigur Muslim literature is "The Legend of the Prophets" by Rabguzi (1310).

The next period in the development of the Uigur literature has not yet been properly studied. It is known that under the Timurides and in the centuries after Kashgar remained one of the principal cultural and scientific centres of the Muslim Orient where scientific and artistic works were created. Now in Urumchi, the centre of the Sinkiang-Uigur Autonomous region, nearly 4000 manuscripts have been collected, some nine hundred years old. The study and publication of the most valuable manuscripts from this collection would help to throw light on this obscure period of the Uigur literature and language. Later monuments date from the second half of the 19th century and are mostly of historical nature.

The first juridical documents in the Uigur script were brought from East Turkestan in 1897 and 1898 by V.I. Roborovsky, P.K. Kozlov and D.A. Klementz, and later by the expeditions of A. Grunwedel and A. Lecocq. The documents date from the 11th-14th centuries and were mostly studied and published by W.W. Radlow (in 1899 and, posthumously, in 1928). In 1918 A. Lecocq

published four Uigur juridical documents with translations.

At the turn of the 19th century fragments of Christian and Manichean writings were found in East Turkestan as well as ma Buddhist texts. Many European and Russian scholars studied these findings. In 1908 F.W.K. Muller's "Uigurica" appeared which contained a Christian New Testament fragment about the Adoration of the Magi as well as several fragments from Suvarna-prabhasa.

In 1909 W.W. Radlow published "The Expiatory Prayer of the Manicheans". In later years W.W. Radlow, A. Lecocq, F.W.K. Muller published more Manichean monuments. In 1910 S.E. Malov found fragments of a manuscript of Suvarnaprabhasa near Suchow in the Kansu province. The Sutra had been translated into Uigur in the 10th century, and the manuscript is dated by 1687. Earlier separate fragments of this monument were found by the Third German expedition to the Turfan Oasis. In 1908 they were partly published by F.W.K. Müller. "Suvarnaprabhasa" was studied by W.W. Radlow and S.E. Malov, who published its full text in 1913-1917. In 1930 W.W. Radlow's German translation of the monument was published.

The materials found by S.E. Malov include valuable transla tions into Uigur as well as Buddhist texts, the latest of which date from 1702. S.E. Malov regularly published his field material on the Uigur dialects (with vocabularies) collected at the beginning of the twentieth century. S.E. Malov's "The Language of the Yellow Uigurs" including a sketch of grammar alongside with an extensive vocabulary is especially noteworthy.

As far as modern Uigur is concerned, one should mention R.Shaw's Turki (Uigur) grammar based on the sub-dialect of Kashgar and reflecting the norms of the literary language as well. Mention should be made of the grammars by G.Raquette, A.Gabin and others.

Special attention should be paid to the work of Gunnar Jarring, a well-known Swedish orientalist, who has personally collected and during the last 25 years published numerous dialectological, historical, ethnological and other materials on the Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar, Tašmalyq, Kushar and other Uigur dialects. All these materials are supplied with English translations and corresponding vocabularies. His work is crowned with the publication in 1964 of the comprehensive East Turki (Uigur)-English dictionary.

The following Uigurological works of the Soviet linguists should be mentioned: A.K. Borovkov's "The Manual of Uigur", V.M. Nasilov's "The Grammar of Uigur", N.A.Baskakov and V.M. Nasilov's "Russian-Uigur Dictionary" published in 1955 in Alma-ata under the editorship of Yu.Cunvazo and A. Salseva, and in 1956 in Moscow under the editorship of T.R. Rakhimov. In the Alma-ata edition the translation is based on the Cyrillic alphabet only, while in the Moscow edition a special Cyrillic transcription was introduced. In 1968 a more comprehensive Uigur-Russian dictionary by E.N. Najip was published in Moscow, this time using the Arabic script with the transcription.

In recent years elementary Uigur grammars for Uigur schools in the USSR and China were published. A number of candidate and doctoral theses on specific points of the Uigur grammar have been presented recently in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent and Alma-ata. M.Khamraev has won the doctor's degree for the Uigur poetics. The Uigur Department has been organized in Alma-ata under the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. Research workers of this department are engaged in various fields of Uigurology. First scientific papers by the scholars of the department have appeared, e.g. those by A.Kaidarov, T. Sadvakkasov, T. Palipov, M.Khamraev, R.Ismailov, etc.

VOCABULARY

Foreign Elements. Since the most ancient times the Uigurs have been in direct and continuous contact with the cognate Turkic tribes, as well as with the Chinese people and various Mongol tribes. As a result of this foreign elements began t penetrate Uigur already at an early stage of its development. Th Chinese and Mongolian elements belong to the earliest stratum of borrowings, the Kirghiz linguistic features were the first amor the Turkic borrowings to influence Uigur. Later Uigur took in Qarluq, Oguz and a small number of Qipcaq elements. The settlement of the Uigurs in East Turkestan accompanied by an exp sion of cultural and economic contacts, as well as the adoption of Islam brought many Persian and Arabic (via Persian) words into Uigur.

In the 5th-10th centuries a large number of Chinese, Sogdian and Sanskrit words entered Uigur due to numerous translations of the Buddhist and Manichean religious books into Uigur. These were mainly words related to religion and didactics as well as some abstract and common usage vocabulary.

Later, after the spread of Islam an intensive process of borrowing Arabic and Persian words began. The borrowings were primarily related to religion, they also included words describing the concepts of science, social order, state government, moral a well as the Muslim culture in general; thus, these borrowings on the whole rendered abstract notions, as a result the number of synonyms in Uigur increased considerably. The main flow of the Arabic and Persian borrowings was in the 14th-16th centuries,

when Kashgar and other cities of East Turkestan emerged as powerful cultural centres of scholars, writers and poets that took part in the creation of the Uigur culture proper.

After East Turkestan became part of China, the influx of the Chinese elements into Uigur increased. However, difference in religion limited the sphere of the Chinese borrowings. The words referred mainly to administration and government, and only a limited number of borrowings were words of common usage.

The Russian capital began to penetrate East Turkestan since the middle of the nineteenth century which resulted in the addition of some Russian words to the Uigur vocabulary.

These continuous contacts with other languages created a situation when at the beginning of the twentieth century loan words accounted for half the total vocabulary of Uigur.

Arabic borrowings are the most important ingredient of the foreign lexical stock in Uigur: if all derivatives formed by means of the Uigur and Persian word-building formants are taken into account, Arabic borrowings would make up two fifths of the vocabulary of Modern Uigur (which is equally true of the spoken language). The Farsisms account for 7-8 per cent.

Such a large proportion of the Arabic element in the Uigur vocabulary is due to the position of Arabic as the language of religion for the Uigurs. Theological and didactic books were mainly written (and in ecclesiastical schools — studied) in Arabic.

Some theological books were written in Farsi, which, nevertheless, remained mainly the language of historiography and fiction (poetry in the first place). In schools (medresse) Farsi was taught alongside with Arabic. However, the influence of Farsi on Uigur cannot be compared with that of the Arabic language: this might be accounted for by the fact that Farsi itself had undergone a substantial Arabic influence, the traces of which are to be found not only in vocabulary but even in grammar.[7]

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[7] On the number of arabisms in modern literary Farsi cf. E.E.Bertels, *Učebnik persidskogo jazyka*, Leningrad, 1932, p. 5; N.A. Belgorodskij, *Sovremennaja persidskaja leksika*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, p. 87.

Interesting conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of the Uigur vocabulary from the point of view of its origin, taking into account the distribution of words into grammatical categories.

In 1944 the author analyzed Uigur newspaper vocabulary (3000 words, 15,000 occurrences). The analysis showed that indigenous Uigur words comprise less than half the total vocabulary. The distribution of the words according to their origin is: Uigur words – 49%, Arabisms – 33.5%, Farsisms – 7.5%, words of the Russian or other European origin – 5.5%, Chinese borrowings – 2%, compound words derived from borrowings by means of Uigur formants – 2.5% (compound verbs were not included into this category because they were treated as borrowings, the type being determined by the character of the basic word).

Arabisms. In "Qutadgu Bilig", the earliest preserved work of the Uigur classical literature (11th century), there are only 94 Arabic borrowings; this shows that the bulk of the Arabic borrowings are of a later origin. If at first Arabic-Persian elements were a result of the economic contacts between the Uigurs and Arabs or Persians, later, after the adoption of Islam, the Arab vocabulary came into Uigur with the Muslim culture, Arabic script, through theological books and ecclesiastic schools. Since this period the number of Arabic borrowings increases sharply. As far as the number of Arabisms is concerned the literary written Uigur of the 14th-19th centuries becomes close to written Old Uzbek (known as Chagatay), which was to a great extent facilitated by a special genetic proximity of the two languages – the relationship which was later artificially kept alive in view of the tradition.

A quantitative analysis of the Arabisms and purely Uigur words in the vocabulary is instructive. In Modern Uigur there are seven nouns of the Arabic origin for every five Uigur nouns. Compound and complex words are formed mainly from Arabic elements. A third of all verbs (derivative, compound and complex) are formed from Arabic words. Grammatical composition of the Arabic part of the vocabulary is diverse: masdar, participles,

temporal and locative nouns, substantives in the broken plural form, singular and plural feminine nouns, adverbs, adjectives,[8] etc. Arabic words in the combination with the Uigur and Farsi ones form compound words; in certain cases derivatives are formed from Arabic words by means of Farsi and Uigur affixes and separate Farsi words and participles which became transformed into affixes in Uigur (*-xana, -šunas, -saz*, etc.). All Arabic borrowings follow the phonetic laws of Uigur. Some have acquired new meanings in Uigur, e.g. *džähl* means 'ignorance', 'stupidity' in Arabic, while in Uigur it currently means 'anger', 'evil'; Arab. *müštäri* 'buyer' in Modern Uigur means only 'subcriber of periodicals'.

Some 60% of the words of the Arabic origin are used in their dictionary forms as simple Uigur words. 20% of the Arabisms (in the Common Case form as well as in the Uigur case forms) produce compound nominal verbs in the combination with Uigur auxiliary verbs. Arabic verbal nouns as well as derivative nouns formed with the help of Uigur affixes constitute the next group of the Arabic lexical borrowings, e.g. *ittipaqči* 'ally', *xälqčiliq* 'populism', Arab.-Pers.-Uig. *adämgärčilik* 'humaneness' (in Modern Uigur a large number of such three-element words is used), etc.

There are numerous cases of the parallel use of the Arabic Active Participle and the derivative noun formed from the Arabic masdar from the same root by means of an Uigur or Farsi derivative affix, e.g. *xajin* and *xijanätči* 'traitor', *adil* and *ädaläṭlik* 'just', *zalim* and *zulumkar* 'oppressor', *qadir* and *qudrätlik* 'powerful'.

Arabic grammatical forms of the masculine and feminine genders are widely used in Uigur, e.g. Uigur *oqutquči* means both 'man and woman teacher'; if specific reference to the sex is re-

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8 The affix *-ij* used to derive adjectives mainly from the words of the Arabic origin was borrowed from Arabic; it is interesting that this affix recently came to be used in deriving adjectives from Russian borrowings, e.g. *partijä - partijävij; idijä - idijävij*.

quired, the combination *oqutquči ajal* in the meaning 'woman teacher' is used; at the same time Arab. *müällim* ' a man teacher' and *müällimä* 'a woman teacher' are used on the equal basis with these Uigur forms; cf. also *šair* 'poet' and *šairä* 'a woman poet', *mudir* 'director' and *mudirä* 'a woman director', etc.

A number of Arabisms were borrowed in Uigur in their plural forms, correspondingly, some of them may have two plural formants even in Arabic, e.g. *xävär* 'news, message', *äxbar* - plural, *äxbarat* - secondary plural formed by means of the feminine plural affix; cf. also *hal* 'position', 'state', *ähval* and *ähvalat*, etc. In Uigur such words are treated as purely singular, thus, they receive Uigur plural formants.

Many Arabic abstract nouns are used in Uigur. They are formed from active and passive participles; plural forms of these participles are also widely used, e.g. *mäRlübijät* 'defeat', *Ralibijät* 'victory', *mäsülijät* 'responsibility' but *mäxluqat* 'animals', etc.

Farsisms. More than half of the Farsi borrowings are concrete notions and names of objects. This is accounted for by the fact that in Farsi itself the bulk of abstract vocabulary consists of the borrowings from Arabic, thus, Uigur borrowed from Farsi not only purely Farsi but Arabic words as well.

At the present stage of the development of Uigur Farsisms occupy an important place in all word classes except numerals and postpositives. The Farsisms take an active part in word-building processes: Farsi word-building affixes, prefixes and words of the type of *xanä, namä, saz*, etc. are very active in derivation. Farsi has enriched Uigur with word combinations, mostly in the form of the Farsi isaphet, e.g. *abihäva* 'weather', 'climate' *äjdi qurban* 'offering feast', *dästi-ävväl* 'at first', cf. also *äz bäraji xuda* 'for the God's sake', *där häqiqät* 'in fact', *bäd äxlaq* 'immoral'. The number of conjunctions borrowed from Farsi is greater than that of Arabic. Farsi words take an active part in the formation of compound, derivative, reduplicated and complex words; 20% of the Farsi words take part in the formation of verbs. More than half of the Farsi borrowings are substantives, some

20% — adjectives. Half of all Farsi substantives in the Uigur vocabulary have become part of the main lexical stock of Uigur, e.g. *paxta* 'cotton', *d aj* 'place', *asman* 'sky', *bazar* 'bazaar', *pul* 'money', *tuxum* 'egg', *xät* 'letter', *xändžär* 'dagger', *däräx* 'tree', *dixan* 'peasant', *därja* 'river', *kala* 'cow', *kan* 'ore', 'mine', *gül* 'rose', *mevä* 'fruit', *goš* 'meat', *jag* 'fat', etc. Unlike some Arabic, Russian and Chinese borrowings, Farsi borrowings are almost without exception used both in literary and popular Uigur, because these words are as a rule connected with different spheres of the economic, cultural and social life.

The characteristic feature of the Farsi words (with the evident exception of the affixes of the type *-saz, -xanä, -namä*, etc.) is that they take almost no part in creating new terms for new, modern concepts and objects.

Certain Farsi borrowings have broadened their scope of meaning, cf. *nämajiš* means not only 'show' but 'political demonstration' as well, *guna* — not only 'sin' but also 'guilt'. One must remember, however, that there are many more similar cases among the Arabisms.

Some non-derivative adjectives were borrowed into Uigur from Farsi, e.g. *arzan* 'cheap' (but Arab. *qimmät* 'expensive'), *äškarä* 'conspicuous' (but Arab. *mäxpij* 'clandestine'), *pakizä* 'clean' (but Arab. *iplas* 'dirty'), *čäp* 'left', *ras* 'right', *xam* 'damp' *xoš* 'pleasant', *rošän* 'clear', *saxtä* 'false', etc. Derivative adjectives, antonymous to the corresponding non-derivative ones are formed from them by means of the Farsi prefixes *na-, be-, bäd-* (derived from the separate word). The same prefixes form derivative adjectives from many Arabic and Farsi borrowings (such adjectives may be described as derived only in a very special sense of the term, because in fact they were assimilated by Uigur already in the form in which they appear now).

Farsi words are also used in the formation of compound verbs from nominal stems by means of the Uigur auxiliary verbs.

The substitution of the Farsi and especially Arabic words by neologisms, Russian and West European words so character-

istic of the usage of the Soviet Uigurs, has been carried out (only marginally) in the literary language of the foreign Uigurs

Russian Borrowings. Russian words first came into Uigur at the turn of the last century. Russian also served as a medium for international words. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution Russian words were borrowed only in very small numbers. At present the amount of the Russian elements in the Uigur vocabulary has increased. Intensive trade, economic and cultural contacts with the Soviet Union in the period since after the war brought about an increase in the number of the borrowings from Russian (mainly of the terminological nature), e.g. *tractor, avtomobil, radio, atom, metr, kilogram, tonna, plan, proletariat, diktatura, burd uazija,* etc. Russian borrowings formed the basis of many derivative and compound words, cf. *krepostnojluq* 'serfdom', *konservatizmlik* 'conservatism', *telegram ävät-* 'to telegraph', *communizmci* 'adherent of communism', *subjektizmcilik* 'subjectivism', etc.

Chinese Borrowings. As it was pointed out before Chinese words began to penetrate Uigur already in the ancient times. However, they did not play any appreciable role in literary Uigur: Chinese words referred mainly to the sphere of government and administration, they also included a small number of common usage words. In the countryside the influence of Chinese was greater than in towns where the old Uigur intellectuals treated Chinese with some contempt, even when Chinese borrowings of the ancient origin were concerned.

The influence of Chinese on different dialects and sub-dialects of Uigur was not uniform, as was the case with the literary and colloquial language and the speech of rural and urban dwellers. As very little material was available on the dialects and sub-dialects of Uigur in town and countryside, especially as regards the spoken language, the examples from the literature could not be exhaustively analyzed along these lines. It should be clear, though, that some of the Chinese words cited can only be used in a separate dialect or sub-dialect, while others are

not used in the current speech, but in the folk-lore or ancient poetry. The assimilation of the Chinese words varies according to the dialect or sub-dialect, which modifies the borrowings in accordance with its own phonetic features.

After the victory of the revolution and the establishment of a People's Democracy in China, the tendency towards the considerable increase of the Chinese word stock in the vocabulary of Uigur became prevalent. A sharp increase of Chinese elements in Uigur is the characteristic feature of Modern Uigur; the Chinese words are combined with the purely Uigur words and derivative affixes, thus participating in the word-building process.

Formerly Chinese words came into Uigur during the active process of communication with the Dungans or local Chinese. Now the Chinese words are absorbed through the press in a regular manner. That is why earlier borrowings differ in many respects from later ones. Older words reflect the dialects of the Chinese and Dungans who settled in Sinkiang a long time ago. These words became completely assimilated by Uigur and are governed by the latter's laws of development. The bulk of such words are treated by the Uigurs as purely indigenous, while the Chinese of the central regions often do not understand them; such elements are attested in folk-lore and certain works of the ancient classical literature, e.g. *tung* 'barrel' which gives *tungčä* 'tub' after the addition of the Farsi affix *-čä;* the word *tätäj* 'aunt' found in many other Turkic languages outside China; the verb *tïngša-* 'to listen' derived from a Chinese stem (cf. Tatar *tïnglav*); alongside with the Farsi *jardäm* and Uig. *kömäk* the Chinese word *bang* 'help' is used from which the verb *banglaš-* 'to help' was formed; *dʒing* 'a weight measure of 500 g.' is the root of the derivative verb *dʒingla-* 'to weigh by 500g.'; *dʒuxardʒu* (with the parallel Chinese-Farsi *dʒuxargul*) 'chrysanthemum'; *xäj* 'slippers' (cf. Chinese-Uigur *latixäj* 'footwear made of cotton cloth') etc.

Recent borrowings from Chinese are adopted in their literary form and retain all the peculiarities of the Mandarin pronunciation. Thus, the stratum of the words borrowed from Chinese

recently differs sharply from earlier Chinese lexical elements. Some Chinese words referring to the spheres of government and commerce are gradually being adopted by the colloquial speech of the ordinary men in the street. However, the majority of such words are used only in the press, which is also characterised by the parallel use of the synonymous Uigur, Russian and Chinese words, cf. Chinese-Uigur *dambu qaq-* and Russian-Uigur *telegram ävät-* 'to cable', Uigur *tügä* and Chinese *lota* 'camel', Chinese-Uigur *tängzičči* and Uigur *jäjmičči* 'petty trader', etc.

As it has been already mentioned, the Chinese neologisms in Uigur are mainly of a terminological nature (cf. *dzjing* 'weight measure equal to 500 gr.'; *mu* 'mu' (unit of area equal to 600 sq. m.), *daśue* 'university', *günše* 'people's commune'). The following are the examples of the Chinese words which have been used for quite a long time in the everyday colloquial speech but are seldom found in the usage of the press: *än* 'case', *än däptiri* 'court case' (*Bügün uning änzisi qarilidu* 'To-day his court case is being heard'); *irgulu* 'two-wheel cart' (cf. *kötäk*, *harva*-id., used alongside with the former word); from *bad -bed i* 'duty' the verb in the causative aspect *badžlat-* 'to pay duty' is formed; *bänpungzä* 'prison' alongside with *türmä* and *qamaqxana*-id.; *bäjxozä* 'alderman', 'white-bearded' alongside with the Uigur *aqsaqal*-id.; *bu* — a game of hasard, which gave *buča qoj* 'to stake'; *but* 'idol' gave *butxanä* 'temple' after the addition of the Farsi *xanä* to the stem; *bolanxoj* 'guarantee' (*Tavuzni bolanxoj satimän* 'Water melon sold with guarantee'); *pangdzjang* 'per cent' which gives *pangdzjangči* 'usurer', *pangšing* 'calm' which gives *pangšing bol-* 'to be calm' and *pangšing bolung* 'be quiet'; *palä* 'fine' from which *pala-* 'to fine' and *palan-* 'to be fined' are formed; *pängzä* 'peddler's tray' which gives *pängzičilik* 'peddling' and *pängžicilik qil-* 'to peddle'; *päjčur* 'volleyball'; *popuza* 'threat' which gives *popuzici* 'black-mailer'; *bišing* 'subordinate' which gives *bišing xälqlar* 'service personnel', 'subordinates', 'subjects', *bingsing* 'force', 'ability' and many other examples.

All these examples show that in the language of the Uigur

there are many Chinese words which now can join Uigur affixes and form new words in the combination with the auxiliary verbs in the same manner as Arabic or Farsi borrowings.

Arabic, Farsi, Russian and Chinese borrowings are freely combined with one another, thus giving various compound and derivative words, e.g. Arab.-Uig.-Fars. *xalbuki* 'in fact', Russ.-Fars.-Uig. *mašinasazliq* 'machine building', Fars.-Arab.-Uig. *härtäräplämä* 'manifold', Fars.-Arab. *därhal* 'immediately', Arab.-Fars.-Uig. *israpxorluq* 'wastefulness', etc. Such words form a significant proportion of the vocabulary of Modern Uigur.

The Composition of the Uigur Vocabulary in the Historical Aspect. The following historical strata are distinguished in the vocabulary of Modern Uigur: the oldest stratum, Chinese words borrowed in the ancient past, Sogdian and Sanskrit words which came into Uigur in the period of the translation of the religious literature, the stratum of Oguz words which were borrowed both in the initial period of the Uigur history and later, when the Uigurs lived side by side with the Toquz-Oguz in East Turkestan, the stratum of Arabic and Farsi words borrowed in the main after the adoption of Islam, the stratum of Chinese words of the old and modern periods, the stratum of Russian words, and, finally, the words which are common to all Uigur dialects and sub-dialects. A substantial part of the Common Turkic and specifically Uigur vocabulary definitely dates back to the period when the modern Uigurs did not yet constitute a single nation.

The analysis has shown that the indigenous Uigur stratum in the vocabulary constitutes only half of the total vocabulary of Modern Uigur. It should be noted that the indigenous Uigur stratum includes here the Mongolian, Tibetan and Sogdian words as well as some of the Chinese words borrowed in the ancient past. Common Turkic words which descend from the original protolanguage are all referred to the indigenous Uigur stratum of vocabulary.

Neologisms. In recent vears Uigur acquired various lexical neologisms. However these formations appear not as substitutions for Arabic-Farsi words (as was the case in the usage

of the Soviet Uigurs), but only to render new notions.

Neologisms are created in various ways. A neologism can appear when a word which already exists in the language acquires a new meaning. Neologisms are also formed from the existing words by means of derivation. In Modern Uigur the most productive and common way of derivation is morphological modification (affixation).[9] Words having prefixes are borrowings, and are not divided into prefixes and stems from the point of view of the Uigur grammar, although the stems may function separately. Word-building affixes are joined directly to the stem, or to the stem of the corresponding borrowing which has a prefix from the source language; a new word with a new meaning may be formed by joining the affix to the foreign derivative words, e.g. *liberalistlik* 'liberalism', *kommunizmči* 'adherent of communism' (as different from 'kommunist'), *aktipčanliq* 'activity', etc.

In recent years the process of expanding the meaning of words already existing in the language intensified sharply, e.g. *hämra* which earlier had only one meaning 'companion' ('friend') is now used in the meaning 'satellite of the earth', which in its turn developed into 'a worker who systematically overfulfils production norms'.[10] Neologisms of this type can be simple, derivative, compound and complex. Thus, Uigur at the present stage of its development is also enriched as a result of the utilization of old words for the designation of new notions and objects. Consequently, many words which were common in Uigur acquired new meanings.

A complex process of new conceptualization of older words is taking place now resulting in an increase in the number of neologisms. The following words may serve as examples: Arab. *mŭstäri* earlier meant simply 'customer' while now it is used only in the meaning 'subscriber of periodicals'; *ötkäl* 'passage' acquires a new meaning in the sentence *Polat ötkilidin öttük* 'We have successfully fulfilled the plan of steel smelting' (*lit.* 'We crossed the steel passage').

Words with new meanings are formed from a number of purely Uigur words and borrowings by means of word-building affixes, e.g. *qizilliŝiŝ* 'arming oneself with the Marxist-Leninist ideology' (*lit.* 'acquisition of the red colour'); Arab. *mäzhäp* 'sect' (in the religious sense) served as the basis for the word *mäzhäpčilik* 'sectarianism' (political), from Arab. *mähällä* 'parish (of a mosque)', 'quarter', the word *mähälläčilik* with a new meaning 'adherence to and promotion of narrow local interests' was formed with the help of a Farsi-Uigur complex affix. The word *kommunist* ceased to be a neologism in Uigur, and a new formation based on this word appeared, e.g. *kommunistlašturuŝ* 'to educate in the communist spirit' ('arming with the communist idea') (*lit.* 'communization'). The word *ašxana* 'canteen' produces the verb *ašxanilašturuŝ* 'to open canteens in order to satisfy the needs of the population' (*lit.* 'to canteenize'). The words *traktor* 'tractor', *traktorči* 'tractor driver' have already entered the active vocabulary of the language, so this stem produces a Russ.-Fars.-Uig. neologism *traktorsazliq* 'tractor industry', etc.

The number of words formed by means of lexico-syntactic derivation has markedly increased. Such neologisms are two- or three-word combinations expressing one notion. The following words may serve as examples: *dunja qaraŝ* 'world view' from *dunja* 'world', 'universe', *qaraŝ* 'sight' - nom. agent. from the verb *qara-* 'to look'; *su ambiri* 'reservoir'; *säkräp ilgiriläŝ* 'leap forward' (*lit.* 'to move forward in leaps'); *išläpciqiriŝ* 'output' (*lit.* 'to release after having produced'); *sunij hämra* 'artificial satellite', a loan translation from-worker who systematically overfulfils production norms', 'record' which gives *sunij hämra qojup bär-* 'to set up a record'; *radio karneji* 'loudspeaker' (*kärnäj* 'tube'), the combination *qäğäz jolvas* 'imperialism' (*lit.* 'paper tiger') is a loan translation of the Chinese expression; *umumxälq* 'nationwide' (used in the function of an attribute); *umumjüzlük* 'general',

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[9] More on derivation see in the section "Morphology".

[10] There are recent indications that some of these neologisms have been replaced by Chinese words.

'all embracing', etc. As the cited examples show, neologisms are prevalent in this group which are formed after the attributive pattern; both simple and derivative words may be their components.

Construction of the Terminology. There is hardly any uniformity in the construction and use of terminology in Uigur at the present stage. Thus, in grammars and text-books such notions as "declination" and "conjugation" are described by one term, while different terms are often used for the designation of the same cases, voices, etc. Until recently only Arabic and Uigur words were used in order to form new terms, now attempts at introducing the Chinese words into the terminology are being made.[11]

Synonyms. The complex combination of various indigenous and borrowed elements in the vocabulary of Modern Uigur leads to a situation, when several synonymous words are often used to denote the same notion or object (the words are either purely Uigur or come from the various languages with which Uigur contacted). Simple and derivative synonyms are distinguished, e.g. *köp : nurğun: dʒïq, tola, talaj, avnu* all mean 'many' and share the Turkic origin, of these only the words *dʒïq, nurğun, avnu* are peculiar only of Uigur and its dialects; the synonyms *cirajliq* and *gözäl* 'nice' belong to the ancient Turko-Mongolian stratum, and the first word is a derivative while the second is none; *egiz: žuquri* 'high' — the former word is specifically Uigur, while the latter is Common Turkic (historically a derivative); *keliškän: sumbatlïq, iskätlik* 'handsome, beautiful'; *kišiɟ insan, adäm* 'man' — the first word is Uigur while the two others are Arabic; Uig. *jär, topraq*, Fars. *zemin* 'land., territory'; Uig. *cong*, Uig. *zor*, Uig. *joğan*, Uig. *büjük*, Uig. *kättä*, Uig. *uluğ* 'big, great'; Uig. *as*, Uig. *tamaq, ğïza* 'food', Fars. *bahar*, Uig. *ätijaz*, Uig. *kökläm* 'spring' (the second word is compound, while the third one is derivative); Uig. *žildam*. specif. Uig. *ištik*, Uig. *čapsan, tez* 'soon, quick'; Uig. *jaxši*, Fars. *obdan* 'good'; Arab. *bäxt*, Arab. *säädät* 'happiness'; Arab. *ğäm*, Uig. *qajğu* 'sadness', 'grief', etc.

Reduplicated Words. Synonymous words are very important in the formation of reduplicated words: synonymic repetitions are a feature of all grammatical classes of independent words. Components of such synonymic repetitions are usually borrowings from different languages (plus indigenous words); however, there are many cases when in such repetitions indigenous words do not participate, or, on the other hand, both components go back to the same language. There is no definite rule as to the order of the components, cf. *bäxt-säadät* 'happiness' *sağ-sälamät* 'health'.

Reduplicated words carry the meanings of iterativity, diversity, multiplicity, when the second component is a simple repetition of the first one, e.g. *qatlam-qatlam* 'laminated', *türlük-türlük* 'diverse', etc.

Reduplications with antonymous components are widely spread. These formations have collective meaning, e.g. *aldin-kejin* 'haphazardly' (*aldin* 'at first', *kejin* 'then'), *kečä-kündüz* 'twenty four hours' (*kecä* 'night', *kündüz* 'day'), *är-xotun* 'family' (*är* 'husband', *xotun* 'wife'), *xotun-qïz* 'women', *jaxši-jaman* 'good and bad', 'all sorts of', etc.

Tautologic reduplications are common in Uigur. In this type the second component has no independent meaning (at any rate at present) and is not used independently. Such reduplicated words (e.g. *kijim-kečäk* 'clothes') have collective meaning as well. Mostly substantives serve as components of the words of this type.

Reduplicated words may be formed from various verbal forms, both finite and verbals (participles, gerundives, etc.), e.g. *oqusam-oqumasam* 'irrespective of the fact whether I read it or not', *kälgän-kätkän* 'passers-by', *kelär-kälmäs* 'immediately on the arrival', *bara-bara* 'walking for a long time', etc.

[11] Scientific establishments of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of China direct the process of unification of the Chinese terminology in the fields of technology, government and politics.

When these words are inflected, the second component usually assumes the grammatical formant.

Homonyms. A large number of homonyms is a characteristic feature of the vocabulary of Modern Uigur; sound reduction, assimilation, elision and alternation help to increase the number of homonyms. Unlike Russian Uigur has many simple homonyms, e.g. *at* 'horse' and 'name', *cuš* 'dream' and 'dinner time', *jaš* 'tear', 'age', 'young', *köz* 'eye' and 'spring' (fountain).

In many cases the sound form of Uigur derivative words coincides with that of simple ones, e.g. *barmaq* 'finger' and 'go', *kör* 'blind' and 'look', *beriš* 'giving' (from *ber-* 'give') and 'going' (from *bar-* 'go'), *teriš* 'harvesting' and 'sowing', etc.

Antonyms. The vocabulary of Uigur includes a number of antonyms to denote contrasting phenomena and notions with opposite meanings. The bulk of antonyms express contrasting qualitative notions, while some render contrasting temporal, spatial and quantitative notions. Many antonyms participate in reduplicated words with collective meanings. There are simple and derivative antonyms, the former, however, predominate; in most cases antonyms come from the purely Uigur stock, e.g. *ilgiri* 'forward' — *kejin* 'backwards', *jaxši* 'good' — *jaman* 'bad', *egiz* 'high' — *päst* 'low' (the latter word is Farsi), *käng* 'broad' — *tar* 'narrow', *čong* 'big' — *kičik* 'small' (cf. reduplicated words *undaq-mundaq* 'such', *kečä-kündüz* 'day and night', etc.).

The Distribution of Vocabulary According to the Grammatical Classes. The distribution of the purely Uigur vocabulary according to the grammatical classes is not without interest. The occurrence of words belonging to different grammatical classes differs according to the class. Thus, a survey of 15,124 words shows that substantives have the highest occurrence; their average repetition may be expressed by 1:5 ratio, the same figure for adjectives is 1:4. A greater value of this coefficient characterizes pronouns (1:18), as well as postpositives and auxiliary nouns (1:15); the repetition of verbs is characterized by the ratio 1:3.3.

The distribution of the vocabulary of the press according to grammatical classes may roughly be expressed in the following percentages (only vocabulary occurrences were counted): substantives - 51%, adjectives — 13.8%, pronouns — 1.3%, verbs — 27%, postpositives and auxiliary nouns — 1.5%, other parts of speech — 5.4%.

An analysis of the semantics of nouns in Modern Uigur reveals that mostly words with concrete meanings are used in Uigur; borrowings from different languages are unevenly distributed between the concrete and abstract vocabulary: Chinese borrowings (with rare exceptions) have concrete meanings; Russian words also tend to have concrete meanings, at the same time recent terminological borrowings include words with specifically abstract meanings. Uigur words of the Common Turkic origin as well as borrowings from Farsi are concrete in their semantics, while 85% of the Arabisms express abstract notions.

Only 10 out of 145 non-derivative substantives under examination express abstract notions, whereas 90% denote concrete objects. The principal role among the words with concrete meanings is played by words denoting parts of the human body, e.g. *arqa* 'back', *bät* 'face', *tamaq* 'throat', *til* 'tongue', *boj* 'stature', 'waist', etc. A substantial part is taken up by words describing various industrial and agricultural pursuits, e.g. *bu̇ğdaj* 'wheat', *tirä* 'leather', *zi̇ğir* 'flax', *qotaz* 'yak', *iṧak* 'donkey', *terilğu* 'sowing', *qoj* 'speep', *polat* 'steel', *tömür* 'iron', *kömür* 'coal', *žipäk* 'silk', etc. The next place according to occurrence is occupied by words relating to everyday life, nature, etc. Postpositives figure eminently among the auxiliary words.

The distribution of vocabulary according to the presence or absence of formal grammatical features is of certain interest. Of the total of 1500 Uigur words examined substantives make up two fifths, while the adjectives one tenth and the verbs — one third. Only 25% of all the substantives in question are non-deri-

vative, while derivatives form 50% of the corpus, the rest being occupied by nominal formations from complex verbs. The corpus contained more nom. act. in-*(i)š* formed from non-derivative verbs than non-derivative substantives.

The existence of the adjective as an independent part of speech in the Turkic languages is usually put to question. In our materials 87 out of 168 adjectives (i.e. more than half) are non-derivative without any formal features. More than 75% of the derivative adjectives are formed by means of the suffix *lïk-liq*.

Synonyms are often found among the adjectives. Thus, the words *cong* and *zor* are used interchangeably in the meaning 'big', and the words *uluğ* and *bujuk* in the meaning 'great'. The most common situation in such cases is for one word of a synonymic pair to be Common Turkic and for the other - specifically Uigur. Borrowings from Arabic and Farsi are used as synonyms of Uigur words as well, e.g. Uig. *bašqa* and Arab. *ğājr* 'other'; Uig. *ärkin* and Fars. *azat* 'free'; Uig. *očuq* and Fars. *rošän* 'open', etc.

More than 60% of the Turkic verbs from the lexical material under analysis is taken up by non-derivative verbs (where we have conventionally included voice forms). About 30% is made up by complex verbs constructed from gerundival forms of non-derivative verbs plus auxiliaries. An insignificant place in the overall count is occupied by verbs formed from Uigur nominal stems by means of auxiliaries (e.g. *qulaq sal-*'to listen'); still fewer was the number of the verbs in which the nominal stem assumes a case form (*tilğa al-*'to mention'); Uigur compound verbs are in most cases formed from foreign borrowings, mainly from Arabic masdars and participles.

The General Characteristics of the Vocabulary of Modern Uigur. The basis of the vocabulary of Modern Literary Uigur is formed by the words common to the whole people i.e. the vocabulary shared by the speakers of all the dialects and sub-dialects of Uigur. Practically only professional vocabulary related to the economic development of a region penetrates from the dialects and sub-dialects into the literrary language (in

some regions fishery is developed, while in others it may be gardening, cotton, animal husbandry or local handicrafts). This led to the elimination of jargonisms (typical, for instance, of the priests) which had been common in the bookish language characterised by the medieval tradition until the latest decade.

Uigur has preserved a substantial number of specifically Uigur and Common Turkic ancient words in their most archaic forms and meanings (mainly in the dialects and sub-dialects). This feature plus the retention of a large number of the Arabisms and Farsisms, an insignificant proportion of the Russian words and Sovietisms and a large number of the Chinese words and combinations characterises the vocabulary of the modern language of the foreign Uigurs in contrast to that of the Soviet Uigurs.

PHONETICS

VOCALISM

There are 8 vowel phonemes in Modern Uigur. According to the place of their articulation the vowels are subdivided into front and back. The front vowels are *ä: ö, ü, i, e*, the back vowels are *a, o, u, ï*. The vowels are also subdivided according to the participation of the lips into labialised (*o, ö, u, ü*) and non-labialised (*a, ä, i /-ï/, e*). Of the non-labialised vowels *a, ä* are broad, *e* — semi-broad and *i(ï)* — narrow; of the labialised vowels *o, ö* are semi-broad and *u, ü* are narrow.

The concise description of the Uigur vowels is as follows:

a is a broad non-labialised, maximally open vowel, which is more back than the unstressed Russian "*а*". As it will be seen further, this sound alternates regularly with *e* and *i* in certain positions in the word. This alternation is usually referred to as "the Uigur revocalisation". Combinatorial and positional variants (especially in reduced syllables) are much shorter in duration than the Russian "*а*".

ä is a broad non-labialised front vowel; it is more open than the Russian /e/ in the word /'etæt/ 'this' (cf. Engl. æ in *man*). This sound is attested both in the roots and affixes; gene-

tically it goes back to the Old Turkic *ä* (cf. Old Turk. *tär* corresponding to the modern *tär* 'sweat', Old Turk. *är* - modern *är* 'husband', 'man', etc.), although the possibility of the Old Turkic *ä* giving Uig. *e* cannot be excluded.

Similarly to *a* the sound *ä* in certain positions changes into *e* or *i*. The presence of the sound *ä* produces two variants of the Uigur affixes which contain broad vowels: the suffix of the plural has two variants *-lar* and *-lär*, the formant of the Locative-*ga-gä*, the Dative -Lative formant *ǧa-gä*, etc.

e is a non-labialised semi-broad front vowel corresponding to the Russian "*е*" in the medial position (cf. Engl. "*e*"). According to W.Radlow *e* goes back to the Old Turkic *ä*.[12] In Modern Uigur the sound *e* is found in any syllable of the word irrespective of its origin, there are, however, certain positional limitations: in non-derivative and derivative words this sound is attested only in the initial syllable, in compound, complex and reduplicated words this sound may be found in the first syllable of the second component as well, e.g. *soda-setïq* 'trade', *bariveriš* 'systematic walking'; in borrowings from Modern Chinese *e* is found even at the end of multisyllabic words.

o is a labialised semi-broad back sound. It is pronounced more closed than the corresponding stressed Russian sound. In non-derivative and derivative words *o*, as a rule, is found only in the initial syllable. Words of the Russian and Chinese origin which came into the language only recently are exceptions in this respect (e.g. *Žungo* 'China'). In reduplicated and compound words *o* may figure in the initial syllable of the second component, e.g. *qanxor* 'blood sucker', *komuqonaq* 'maize', etc. Historically it is traced to the Old Turkic *o*.

ö is a labialised semi-broad front vowel. In non-derivative and derivative words it is found only in the first syllable. Exceptions are provided by some Chinese borrowings. In reduplicated and compound words *ö* may be found in the first syllable of the second component (e.g. *Sesïqköl* 'the name of a lake'). Genetically it comes back to the Old Turkic *ö*: Old Turk. *köz* 'eye' corresponds to Uig. *köz*. Old Turk. *köl* corresponds to Uig. *köl* 'lake', etc.

u is a labialised narrow back vowel, its duration is shorter than that of the Russian "*у*". The sound is found in all positions. It goes back to the Old Turkic *u* and seldom to the Old Turkic combination *uǧ* (e.g. Old Turk. *suǧ* 'water' corresponds to Uig. *su*).

ü is a labialised narrow front vowel, which is a reflection of the Old Turkic *ü*. It is found in all positions, in the second and following syllables (like *u* *ü* may appear as a result of the labial vowel harmony).

i is a non-labialised narrow vowel; it is found in all positions; *i* is more front than all the above described vowels, however, in the combination with the back consonants or syllables containing back vowels this sound may be pronounced as a back vowel, e.g. *kir* 'to enter' but *qïr* 'steppe'; *kejin* 'then' but *qïjin* 'difficult'; *tik* 'to sew' but *tïq* 'to thrust into', etc. Formerly there were two independent phonemes — back *ï* and front *i*;[13] later a shift of articulation toward the front position occurred.

CONSONANTISM

We shall briefly describe those consonants which are specific for Uigur (as well as for many other Turkic languages).

The sound *v* is bilabial (it closely resembles Engl. "*w*"). In Uigur it is found mainly in the initial and medial positions, in very few examples it appears at the end of the word, e.g. *jav* 'enemy', *quv* 'cunning', *aqquv* 'swan', *birav* 'somebody', etc.

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12 Cf., however, cases when Old Turk. *ä* > Uig. *i*, thus, Old Turk. *äšik* 'door' > Mod. Uig. *išik* and not *ešik*, Old Turk. *äki* 'two' > *ikki* not *eki*.

13 The sound *i* within a syllable with *q-ǧ* is pronounced as back and is denoted by the symbol *ï* in our examples.

The labio-dental *v* registered in words borrowed from Russian and Chinese is designated by the same symbol. Urban speakers make a distinction between these two sounds. Thus, the letter *v* in the Modern Uigur alphabet practically denotes two sounds: labio-dental in the words of the Russian and Chinese origin and bilabial in the Uigur, Arabic and Farsi words, e.g. *väqīt* 'time', *vekil* 'delegate', *avu* 'that there', *tüvändä* 'below', *vätän* 'homeland'. but *vagon* 'van', etc.

The sound *f* is found only in the words of the Russian and Chinese origin, e.g. *fabrika* 'plant', *fotografijä* 'photo' as well as *fung* 'monetary unit', *dʒefangdʒun* 'people's liberation army', etc.

The sounds *k* and *g* in Uigur are pronounced somewhat softer than the corresponding Russian sounds, e.g. *kün* 'day', *bügün* 'today', *kičik* 'little', *tügün* 'knot', etc.

The sound *l* in the combination with front vowels is pronounced somewhat softer than the Russian */l/*, and in the combination with back vowels — harder, e.g. *bil-* 'to know', but *qīl-* 'to do', *kül* 'ashes' but *qul* 'slave', etc. However, there are some cases when this sound is pronounced hard in the combination with *i*, e.g. *tīlǧa* 'to the tongue', etc.

The sound *dʒ* in Uigur is a voiced post-dental affricate, e.g. *dʒan* 'soul', *dʒänüp* 'south', *mädʒlis* 'session', *dʒaj* 'place', etc.

The consonant *q* is a uvular (or guttural) voiceless sound. During the articulation of this sound the uvula and the back part of the tongue are brought into contact with the velum, e.g. *qan* 'blood', *qul* 'slave', *qandaq* 'which', *qančä* 'how much', *toqquz* 'nine', *aq* 'white', etc.

h is a faringal spirant (cf. Engl.[h]), e.g. *här* 'every', *häm* 'and', *šähär* 'town', etc.

ǧ is a deep guttural (or uvular) spirant; it is not a stop but a continuant fricative sound. The sound is attested in all positions, e.g. *taǧ* 'monntain', *ǧaz* 'goose', *eǧīz* 'mouth', *ǧärp* 'west', *zīǧla-* 'to weep', etc.

ng is a guttural nasal sound (cf. Germ. *ng* in the word *lang*); it is not used in the initial position, e.g. *tang* 'dawn', *angʼ* 'beast' *sening* 'your', *käng* 'wide', *köngül* 'heart', etc.

The sound *x* is a spirant and is pronounced deeper than the Russian *x*, e.g. *xävär* 'news', *xälīq* 'people', *xata* 'mistake', *xotun* 'wife', 'woman', *x* occurs in all positions, but is seldom attested in purely Uigur words.

SYNHARMONISM

As we have seen earlier, the Uigur vowels are arranged into three pairs of phonemes mutually opposed by the feature "front — back" and two separate phonemes (*e* and *i*) which are outside this opposition. The sounds *a*, *o*, *u* are back, while the sounds *ä*, *ö*, *ü* are front. The phenomenon of synharmonism consists in the fact that a word (irrespective of the character of its formation) may contain either only back or only front vowels. According to this law there are two variants of affixes: with the front or back vowels.[14] If a word has back vowels, it usually attracts affixes with back vowels and vice versa. If the word as a whole does not comply with the principle of synharmonism, the vowels of the affix reproduce the vowels of the final syllable, e.g. *at* 'horse' — *atqa* (Dat.-Lat.); *al* 'take' — *alma* (negative form); *tün* 'night' — *tündä* (Locat.) ; *köl* 'lake' — *köldä* (Locat.); *kitap* 'book' — *kitapqa* (Dat.-Lat.) ; *čiš* 'tooth' — *čišlär* (pl.).

It is a common opinion that Uigur occupies an intermediate place between the synharmonic and non-synharmonic Turkic languages. It should, however, be pointed out that recently the law of synharmonism has ever wider been violated due to various

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[14] At the same time in Uigur (unlike in other Turkic synharmonic languages) certain affixes have only one variant, cf. the following affixes: Genitive *-ning*; Accusative *-ni*, Ablative *-din* the affix of similitude *-din*, (with the exception of the cases when it functions as a derivative formant in certain words, cf. *šundaq* 'such', *qandaq* 'which'), the complex affix of location *-diki*: *digan*, the complex affix of the Present-Future Participle, interrogative particles *-mu* and *-ču*, the particle *-gu*.

reasons. The typical example is the addition of a back vowel affix to a front vowel word, e.g. *tilğa* 'to the tongue', *ištqa* 'to the dog', *žipqa* 'to the thread', *dilğa* 'to the heart', *išqa* 'to the matter'. All these words are considered as "sharp" in synharmonic languages and affixes with front vowels are joined to them.

It should also be pointed out that whereas in some Turkic languages the consonants *q* and *ğ* may occur only with back vowels within the word (*k* and *g* — only with front vowels) and may not occur in the same word with *k* and *g*, in Modern Uigur these rules do not hold any longer. Thus, instead of the expected *gör* we find *gor* 'grave', instead of *äkä — aka* 'elder brother', instead of *ükä — uka* 'younger brother', instead of *köcä — koča* 'street', instead of *käldük — kälduq* 'we came', etc. Vowel harmony is not observed in compound words. In complex verbs single components are considered independent with respect to synharmonism.

PROGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

Progressive assimilation of vowels takes the forms of labial and velar (cf. p. 32) attraction.

Progressive assimilation along the lines of labial attraction is carried out in the following way:

1. If the semi-broad *o/ö* occurs in a monosyllabic word or in the initial syllable of a disyllabic word, the narrow labial *u/ü* (in the Kashgar sub-dialect of the central dialect it is on the contrary the non-labial *a/ä*) appears in the succeeding closed syllable which may belong either to an inflection or a derivative affix and which attracts the stress, e.g. *öl-* 'to die', *ölüš* 'dying', *ölüm* 'death', *öldüm* 'I died'; *bol-* 'to become', *boluš* 'becoming', *bolup* 'on becoming' (in Kashgar, on the contrary, *bolaš*, *ölüm*, etc.). When an affix with the narrow non-labialised *i-ī* is joined to such words, the vowels of the initial syllable of the word do not undergo any change, e.g. *ölümni* (Acc.), *ölümning* (Gen.), etc. If the affix is an open final syllable, it does not follow the rules of labial harmony, e.g. *öl-* 'to die', *öl-tür-* 'to kill', 'to put to death', *öl-türüš* 'killing', *öl-tür üp* 'having killed' but *öl-türdi* 'he killed'; *qol* 'hand', *qol-um* 'my hand', but *qolumni* 'my hand' (Acc.).

2. If a monosyllabic word is a closed syllable with a narrow labialised vowel, a narrow labialised vowel of the same row will obligatorily be the initial vowel of the affixes added to the word and beginning with a vowel, e.g. *cüš-* 'to descend' — *cüšüš* 'descent'; *bur-* 'to turn' — *buruš* 'turn'; *tur-* 'to get up' — *turuš* 'getting up'; *tuz* 'salt' — *tuzum* 'my salt', etc. It should be pointed out that if the affix contains broad vowels *a/ä/e*, they are not labialised.

In disyllabic words in which the first syllable is open and the final vowel is the narrow labialised *u/ü* and the second syllable is closed and contains the broad vowel *a/ä*, the broad vowel *a/ä* goes into the narrow vowel *u/ü* after the addition of the possessive affix of the 1st or 2nd person, e.g. *qulaq* 'ears' — *qulağum* 'my ears'; *žürak* 'heart' — *žürügüm* 'my heart', etc.

REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

The reverse influence of the narrow vowel of the succeeding syllable on the broad vowel of the preceding syllable with respect to velar attraction and labial harmony is one of the characteristic features of Uigur. The rules of regressive assimilation may be summarised as follows.

When an affix with the broad front vowel *ä* or the narrow non-labialised *i* is joined to monosyllabic words with the broad vowel *a/ä* (no matter whether the affix is an open or closed syllable), the accent is shifted to the affix, and the broad vowel of the stem changes into *e*, thus the root changes phonetically, e.g.: *bar-* 'to go' — *beriš* 'going'; *bär-* 'to give' — *beriš* 'giving'; *al-* 'to take' — *elin-* 'to be taken'; *mal* 'cattle' — *meli* 'his cattle'; *maj* 'fat', 'butter', 'oil' — *mejim* 'my butter'; *baj* 'rich' — *bejiš* 'enrichment'; *kät-* 'to leave' — *ketär* 'he will leave'; *bär* 'to give' — *berär* 'he will give', etc.

Regressive assimilation also occurs in the vocabulary form of disyllabic and derivative words, in which the Common Turkic

broad vowel *a* is assimilated in the initial syllable, e.g. *belīk* 'fish' (cf. *balīq* in other Turkic languages), *selīq* 'tax' (cf. *salīq*), *qetuq* 'yogurt' (cf. *qatuq* or *qatīq* in other Turkic languages), etc.

Regressive assimilation contributes largely to the increase in the number of homonyms, which in some cases leads to difficulties, e.g. from *bar-* 'to go' and *bär-* 'to give' homonymous names of action are formed (*beriš* 'going' and 'giving'), as well as Past Gerundives (*berip* 'having gone' and 'having given'), the forms of the Passive and Reciprocal Voices (*beril-* and *beriš-*), etc.

Note. In an attempt to cope with the difficulties arising from regressive assimilation Uigur linguists and officials of the Chinese publishing houses have been trying to introduce a new rule according to which the vowel *a* of the stem would change into *i*, while *ä* would give *e*; thus, the name of action from *bar-* 'to go' would be **biriš*, and from *bär-* 'to give' — *beriš*. This rule, however, does not fully reflect the pronunciation, and, in its turn, produces new homophones and homographs, e.g. if instead of the accepted *teli* 'his willow' (from *tal* 'willow') *tili* is introduced, it would coincide with *tili* 'tongue'; if from *ǰan* 'soul' the form *ǰinim* 'my soul' is constructed, it will be identical with *ǰinim* 'me evil spirit', etc.

When more affixes are joined to the word the stem which changed due to regressive assimilation preserves its new form, e.g. *al-* 'to take', *elin-* 'to be taken', *elinǧan* 'being taken', *elinivatqan* 'that which is being taken at a given moment', etc.

There are, however, separate cases when the addition of an affix to the stem is not accompanied by regressive assimilation, e.g. the addition of the affix of possessivity of the 3rd person to the word *san* 'number' does not give *seni* (as should have been expected) but *sani* 'his number'.

If two consonants occur between the broad vowel of the stem and the narrow vowel of the affix which influences stem vowels, no regressive assimilation takes place; thus, the stem does not undergo any phonetic change, e.g. *al-* 'to take', *eliš*

'taking' but *alduruš* 'writing out'; *jan-* 'to return', *jeniš* 'return' but *jandur-* 'to return somebody', 'to recall', etc.

There is no regressive assimilation also in the case when the broad vowel is in the second syllable and the assimilating narrow vowel is in the third syllable, because here the phenomenon of reduction is operative (cf. p.). e.g. *dada* 'father', *dadisi* 'his father' and not **dadesi*.

The assimilation does not occur when the narrow vowel which could function as assimilating is itself the result of reduction, i.e. the transition *a/ä* > *i/ī* has already taken place, e.g. *ana* 'mother', *anisi* 'his mother', where the narrow vowel of the second syllable is the result of the reduction *i* < *a* and therefore cannot assimilate the broad *a* of the first syllable.

Regressive assimilation does not operate in many Arabic and Farsi borrowings. However, the transition of the vowel *a* of the stem into *e* may take place, when, for instance, form-building affixes are joined to the Arabic root, e.g. *ǰan* 'soul' — *ǰenim* 'my soul'. Farsi *xan* in the similar case gives parallel forms *xanim* and *xenim*; Arabic *mal* 'wealth' gives *meli* after the addition of the possessivity affix, at the same time Farsi *kar* 'business' gives *kari* 'his business' and not **keri*, etc.

It should be pointed out that regressive assimilation may take place in disyllabic words as well: the Common Turkic broad vowel of the first syllable *a/ä* is assimilated into *o/ö* under the influence of the narrow labialised *u/ü* of the second syllable, cf. Uig. *tonuš* 'acquaintance' (instead of *tanīs* as in other Turkic languages), Uig. *qošuq* 'spoon' (instead of *qašīq*), etc.

When the 1st person affix is added to the 3rd person form of the Past concrete tense of a given moment, the narrow labialised *u* in the formant *-tu* (contracted form of *-dur/-tur*) is changed into the non-labialised *i*, e.g. *eliptu* 'he turned out to take', *eliptimän* 'I turned out to take'; *körüptü* 'he saw', *körüptimän* 'I saw'; *beriptu* 'he went', *beriptimän* 'I went', etc.

REDUCTION

The phenomenon of reduction refers to the broad vowels *a/ä*. These vowels weaken and change into the narrow *i/ ï* (in some cases, depending on the stem vocalism, into *u/ ü*) when they are at the end of the final syllable of di- or multisyllables and when an affix (no matter whether it is an open or closed syllable) is added to the stem with the accompanying shift of accent to the affix, e.g. *dada* 'father', *dadisi* 'his father', *dadilar* 'fathers', *dadimiz* 'our father'; *bala* 'child', *balilar* 'children'; *harva* 'cart', *harvusi* 'his cart'; *gollan-* 'to use', *gollinïš* 'use', *sözlaš* 'to talk', *sözlïšïš* 'talk'. When further affixes are added the reduced vowel does not change, e.g. *ana* 'mother', *anisi* 'his mother', *anisiniki* 'belonging to his mother', *anisinikidäki* 'being at his mother's home', etc.

Some words of the Arabic and Farsi origin as well as separate purely Uigur di- and multisyllables do not undergo reduction if the final syllable has a stable stress, e.g. *dutar* 'a musical instrument' — *dutari* 'his dutar'; *qarar* 'decision' — *qararim* 'my decision'; *dala* 'steppe' — *dalada* 'in the steppe'; *padiša* 'king' — *padišalar* 'kings'; *toxtam* 'agreement' — *toxtamimiz* 'our agreement', etc.

Reduction does not occur when the affix of the comparative degree *raq/räk* is added, e.g. *tola* 'much', *tolaraq* 'more'.

Reduction may also take place at the juncture of two words in a word combination, if the first component ends in an open syllable with the final broad vowel *a/ä*, and the second component begins with a consonant (note, however, that this feature is not reflected in writing), e.g. *tülkä balisi* is pronounced as *tülki balisi* 'a litle fox'; *togra sözläs* 'an open talk' is pronounced as *togru sözläs; altä kisi* is pronounced as *alti kisi* 'six people', etc.

The following cases occurring when possessive affixes are

added, are regarded as reduction giving the sound zero:[15]

1) the narrow labialised vowel in the second syllable of a stem having the semi-broad *o/ö* in the first syllable is regularly dropped, e.g. *köngül* 'heart' — *könglüm* 'me heart'; *oğul* 'son' — *oğlum* 'my son';

2) in disyllabic stems with the vowel *i/ ï* in both syllables the vowel *i/ ï* of the second syllable is dropped, e.g. *singil* 'younger sister' — *singlim* 'my younger sister' (if the stem is derivative *i/ ï* is not dropped, e.g. *bilim* 'knowledge' — *bilimim* 'my knowledge'; *qïlïq* 'temper' - *qïlïgï* 'his temper');

3) when possessivity affixes are joined to a trisyllabic stem, the vowel *i* of the open second syllable is dropped, e.g. *qarïğaj* 'pine' — *qarïğïji* 'his pine';

4) in a disyllabic stem with an open first syllable and closed second syllable the semi-broad *e* of the first syllable changes into the broad *a*, while the vowel *i* of the second syllable is dropped, e.g. *beğïr* 'liver' — *bağrim* 'my liver'; *eqïl* 'mind' — *äqli* 'his mind'; *käjin* 'after' — *käjni-käjnidini* 'one after another', etc.

CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS

A characteristic distinction of Uigur from other Turkic languages consists in a specific mutability of the root in Uigur, while generally the inchangeability of the root is regarded as a basic Turkic feature. Such a mutability is largely accounted for by progressive and regressive assimilation, reduction and consonant alternation described in the present section. The following cases of consonant alternation may be established:

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[15] The following phenomena may be treated as consonant reduction: the sound *l* in the final position is often not pronounced; it is also not pronounced when an affix with the initial consonant is added to the stem with the final *l*, e.g. *käl*~*kä-* 'to come', *kägin* 'come!', *kämidi* 'he did not come'; *al* 'take!', *amidim* 'I did not take', *asun* 'let him take' (this phenomenon is not reflected in writing). The sound *r* is usually not pronounced as well, in the final position of the syllable, which leads to the lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g. *qarga* > *qaga* 'crow'; *ärtä*~*ätä* 'morning' (usually not reflected in writing).

1. When possessivity affixes are joined to a di- or multisyllabic word which ends in the surds *q/k*, the latter are voiced into *ğ/g*, e.g. *teč̌liq* 'calm' – *teč̌liğ̌imiz* 'our calm'; *ajaq* 'foot' – *ajiRī* 'his foot', *qozuq* 'pole' – *qozuğ̌i* 'his pole'; *kič̌ik* 'small' – *kič̌igim* 'my little one'; *hämkarlīk* 'solidarity' – *hämkarlīğ̌imiz* 'our solidarity', etc. In monosyllabic words no such alternation takes place, e.g. *aq* 'white' – *eqïm* 'my white one'; *kök* 'blue' – *köki* 'his blue one'; *jaq* 'side' – *jeqī* 'his side'.

2. When a monosyllabic word ends in a voiced consonant *R/g*, and an affix with the initial consonant of the same quality is added, both consonants are devoiced, e.g. *bağ̌* 'garden' – *baqqa* 'into the garden'; *tağ̌* 'mountain' – *taqqa* 'on the mountain', *bäg* 'beg', 'bey' – *bäkkä* 'to the beg', etc.

3. When possessivity affixes are added to multisyllabic words which end in the labial voiceless *p*, this sound often goes into the bilabial *v*, e.g. *kitap* 'book' – *kitivi* 'his book'; *täklip* 'offer', 'invitation' – *täklivim* 'my offer', 'my invitation'. However, no such alternation takes place in monosyllabic words, e.g. *qap* 'sack' – *qepi* 'his sack'; *žip* 'thread' – *žipi* 'his thread', etc. Some multisyllabic words borrowed from Arabic and Farsi where they had the ending *f* also do not comply with this rule, e.g. *täräp* 'side' – *täripi* 'his side'; *qulup* 'lock' – *qulupi* 'his lock'; *maarip* 'education' – *maaripimiz* 'our education', etc.

4. When possessive affixes and derivative affixes *än* and *ij* are added to the words which end in the voiceless dental-alveolar *t*, this final voiceless consonant becomes voiced, e.g. *idʒat* 'invention' – *idʒadim* 'my invention'; *idʒadij* 'creative' – *idʒadän* 'creatively'; *mäxsät* 'aim' – *mäxsidimiz* 'our aim'; *dat* 'cry' – *dadi* 'his cry'.

5. When the derivative affixes *an* and *ij* are added to words with the final voiceless *p*, *p* gets voiced into *b*, e.g. *dʒävap* 'answer' – *dʒävabij* 'return' – *dʒävabän* 'in reply'; *kitap* 'book' – *kitabij* 'bookish'. At the same time there are cases when *p* goes into *v*, e.g. *aptap* 'sun' – *aptavij* 'sunny', 'dried in the sun'.

6. An alternation *g* ~ *v* exists in many mono- and disyllabic words, owing to which they can be used in two parallel forms, e.g. *dʒuga* ~ *dʒuva* 'coat', 'fur coat'; *dʒugan* ~ *dʒuvan* 'a young woman'; *dʒugaz* ~ *dʒuvaz* 'oil-mill'; *ugal* ~ *uval* 'sin', etc.

7. In many words an alternation *č̌* ~ *š̌* takes place irrespective of their position, e.g. *toğ̌ac* ~ *toğ̌aš̌* 'bun', *quš̌qaš̌* *quš̌qac* 'sparrow', etc.

8. When an affix with the initial voiceless palatal *c* is appended to the word ending in the same consonant, the *č̌* of the root changes into the palato-dental *š̌* (this transition is often reflected in writing), e.g. *jağ̌ač̌* 'wood' *jağ̌aš̌ci* 'carpenter'; *kümüč̌* 'silver' *kümuš̌či* 'silversmith', etc.

9. An alternation *j* ~ *l* is attested at the end of the word, e.g. *nasvaj* ~ *nasval* 'snuff', both forms existing in their own right.

SEPARATE CASES OF ROOT CHANGE

There are many separate cases of the root change in Uigur brought about by the loss of the stem vowels or consonants, as well as by irregular sound alternations. Such cases can hardly be accounted for by general rules. The following are some of the examples:

1. When verbs are formed from the word *tez* 'quick', 'quickly', *e* changes into *ä*: *täzlä-* 'to quicken', *täzlät-* 'to quicken (trans.)', etc.

2. When the verb is formed from the adjective *uluğ̌* 'great', the second *u* is dropped: *ulğ̌aj-* 'to grow', 'to become large'.

3. From the adjective *seriq* 'yellow' the verb *sarğ̌aj-* 'to become yellow' is formed, cf., however, the gerundive from this verb – *sağ̌ïrip: Č̌iraji samandāk sağ̌ïrip kätkän* 'His face became yellow like straw'.

4. The verb *joğar-*[16] 'to grow', 'to become large' is formed from the adjective *joğan* 'big' (*Aličä šunčä joğaramdu* 'Does a plumtree grow so high?'). The following alternations occur in the verb during the formation of the Causative and Passive voice forms: *joğajt-* 'to magnify' (*joğajtip körsütüdigän äjnäk* 'magnifying glass') and *joğutilğan* 'enlarged'.

5. The interrogative form of the Present tense *aralamdu* 'does it distinguish?' is formed from the verb *ajri-* 'to distinguish' (*Čivinlär joruqni, rängni aralamdu* 'Do the flies distinguish light and colour?').

6. The verb *uxla-* 'to sleep' (*uxligan halda* 'in a sleepy state') is formed from the stem *ujqu* 'sleep' (cf., however, *ujqa arilaš* 'half-awake'). The Causative voice from this verb is *uxlutudigan* (here in the form of the participle) 'somniferous'. New verbs are formed from the contracted stem *ux-* (< ujqu): *uxan-* 'to wake', *uxat-* 'to awaken' (e.g. *uxunudu* 'he wakes up /someone/', *uxundu* 'he wakes').

7. Loss of the reduced *a: bala* 'child' — *balilar* > *balla(r)* 'children'.

CONTRACTION

Numerous contracted forms are common in Uigur as distinct from other Turkic languages. Not only separate words (in their vocabulary form or with form-building affixes) but word combinations may be contracted, e.g.:

änä 'here' + *u* 'that' *avu* 'that here'
mana 'here' + *bu* 'this' *mavu* 'this here'
änä 'there' + *šu* 'that' *ašu* 'that there'
mana 'here' + *šu* 'that' *mašu* 'that there'.

The word combination *mana šu jär* 'here is this place' assumes the following forms in spatial cases as the result of contraction: *mana šu järdä* > *mäšädä* 'here', *mänä šu järgä* > *mäšägä* 'in here', *mänä šu järdin* > *mäšädin* 'from here', etc.

The following contractions occur in the formation of compound verbs: *elip käl-* > *äpkäl-* > *äkkäl-* > *äkäl-* 'to bring in'; *elip kät-* > *äpkät-* > *äkät-* 'to carry out'; *elip čiq-* > *ačiq-* 'to carry away' (in all three verbs only the single vowel *ä* remained from the stem *al-* 'to take'; *qelip kät-* > *qapkät-* 'to remain'; *joqolup kät-* > *joqapkät-* 'to disappear' (only the initial syllable represents the verb *joqal-*; the affix of the Past Gerundive is added directly to it); *qelip qaldi* is contracted into *qepqaldi* 'remained'.

There are numerous cases of contraction in the conjugation forms of separate verbs: *keliptu* > *käptu* 'he came', *boluptu* > *boptu* 'all right', *qeliptu* > *qaptu* 'he remained', *eliptu* > *aptu* 'he took', etc.

The auxiliary verbs *bär* 'to give', *ät-* 'to do', *jät-* 'to lie', *e-* 'to be' are contracted during aspect and tense formation; this changes their phonetic form completely, e.g. *qaraj berdi* > *qaravedi* 'he kept looking'; *oquj bärdi* > *oquvedi* 'kept reading'; *urupätti* > *uruvätti* 'he struck a blow' (it should be pointed out that the second component in the combination is, in our opinion, not *ät-* 'to do' but *ävät-* 'to send', cf. Uzbek *jubar-*, Tatar *jebär-*, Kazakh *žiberü* which perform the same function in the compound verbs of this type. It then becomes possible to derive Uig. *uruvätti* from *urup ävätti*); *oqup jatadur* > *oquvatidu* 'he is reading'; *jazip jatadur* > *jazivatidu* 'he is writing'; *barar edi* > *baratti* 'he would go'; *qarar edi* > *qaratti* 'he would look'; *bilär edi* > *bilätti* 'he knew (would know)', etc.

The sound *l* is dropped in verbs during the formation of the Past Gerundive: *qīlip* > *qīp* 'having made', (*čirajlīq qīp* 'having made beautiful'), *joqulup* > *joqap* 'having disappeared' (*Nimančilīq joqap kätkülük* 'Why haven't you been seen for so long?'; *Tikilipla qaptimän anga* 'I could not tear my eyes away from her').

Words containing several affixes and particles may be contracted: *demäjsizlärmu* 'won't you speak?' (the negative gerundive

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16 Similar verbs are formed from other adjectives, cf. *uzun* 'long' — *uzart-* 'to lengthen'; *qīsqa* 'short' — *qīsqar-* 'to shorten' (the form of the Present-Future tense is *qisqirajdu*).

from the verb *de-* 'to speak', the formant of the 2nd person plural *-sizlär* and the interrogative particle *mu*) > *demämsila* (the negative gerundive lost its final consonant *j*, the interrogative particle *-mu* moved from the final position to the negative stem having at the same time lost its final consonant, the complex affix *-sizlär* simplified into *-sila*). The question *bolmasmu*? 'wouldn't it?' receives the answer in the contracted form *bolmamdiǧan* 'why wouldn't it...'.

Constructions expressing possibility and impossibility may also be contracted: *jašaj alidu* *jašalajdu* 'he can live', *jašaj almajdu* ~ *jašalmajdu* 'he cannot live'. Cf. also the expression of interrogation in the constructions of possibility and impossibility: *ajira alidimu*? ~ *aralamdu*? 'can it distinguish?' (the answer is *aralajdu* 'it can distinguish'). The number of examples may easily be increased.

Contraction of separate words and whole word combinations is a specific feature of Uigur.

CONSONANT AUGMENTATION

When the affix of possessivity is added to some words ending in a vowel the prothetic *r* may appear between the stem and the affix, e.g. *kinosi* and *kinori* 'his cinema', *paltosi* and *paltori* 'his overcoat', *toxurum* 'my hen', *sijajim* and *sijarim* 'my ink', *norum* 'my trough', etc.

In some words the sound *i* is accompanied by the epenthetic *š* if followed by a voiceless consonant. Sometimes it is reflected in writing, e.g. *it* ~ *išt* 'dog', *iki* ~ *iški* 'two', *pijada* ~ *pišadä* 'by foot'.

SYLLABLE

Non-derivative words in Uigur are mainly mono- and disyllabic, trisyllabic words occur very seldom, on the other hand there are many trisyllables among derivatives. The necessary component of the syllable in Uigur is a vowel, all-consonant syllables are not formed.

Syllables may be open or closed. The syllable ending in a vowel is open (e.g. *a-na* 'mother'), the one ending in a consonant is closed (e.g. *at* 'horse', *üč* 'three'). The number of syllables in the Uigur word is determined by the number of vowels in it.

The main types of syllables are the following: 1) a single vowel: *a-na* 'mother', *a-ta* 'father'; 2) vowel + consonant: *üč* 'three', *on* 'ten', *ün* 'sound'; 3) consonant + vowel: *da-da* 'father', *a-ka* 'elder brother', *ü-ka* 'younger brother'; 4) consonant + vowel + consonant: *qar* 'snow', *bar* 'is', *joq* 'no'; 5) vowel + consonant + consonant: *ast* 'down', *üst* 'up'; 6) consonant + consonant + vowel: (attested only in borrowings from Russian and Chinese, as well as types 8, 9, 10) *pro-fes-sor; pro-gram-ma*; 7) consonant + vowel + consonant +consonant: *dost* 'friend', *tört* 'four'; 8) consonant + consonant + vowel + consonant: *plan, trak-tor*; 9) consonant + vowel + consonant + consonant+ consonant: *tekst* 'text', *punkt* 'point'; 10) consonant + consonant + vowel + consonant + consonant: *front, trans-port*.

ACCENT

Very useful !

Accent in Uigur is remarkable for its complexity and instability. In Uigur, as in other Turkic languages, the accent falls usually on the terminal syllable of the word, e.g. *bala* 'child', *küčlük* 'strong', *oxsáš* 'like', 'similar', *boǧum* 'syllable', etc. When further derivative and form-building affixes are added the accent is correspondingly shifted to the terminal syllable (if the affixes are not unaccented), e.g. *balá* 'child', *balilár* 'children', *balilarǧá* 'to the children', *balilirimíz* 'our children', *balilirimizǧá* 'to our children', etc.

Numerous borrowings from Farsi and Arabic do not comply with this rule, e.g. *qanáat* 'contentment with the little', *álim* 'scholar', *bälki* 'may be', *älvättä* 'certainly', *čünki* 'because', etc. The same refers to borrowings from Russian and Chinese, e.g. *demokrátijä* 'democracy', *transport, texnik* 'technician', *texnika* 'technology', *partijä* 'party', *višin* 'satellite', etc. When

further affixes of both types are added to such words the accent remains unchanged, e.g. *transport, transportni* 'of the transport', *transportqa* 'to the transport', *transportci* 'transport worker', *transportcilár* 'transport workers', *transportcilarğ̌a* 'to the transport workers', etc.

If in borrowings the accent is on the last syllable, the pattern will be similar to that of purely Uigur words: the accent will shift to the terminal syllable with the addition of every new affix, e.g. *kommunist* 'a communist', *kommunistlar* 'communist', *kommunistlarğ̌a* 'to the communists', etc.

Predicative affixes are unaccented, therefore in words containing such affixes the accent is on the syllable preceding the predicative affix, e.g. *muällimmän* 'I am a teacher', *sän kimsän* 'What are you?', *män ucqucimän* 'I am a pilot'.

The negation affix *ma/mä* is also unaccented, therefore in all negative verbal forms the accent is on the syllable preceding this affix, e.g. *jázmidi* 'he did not write'; *jázmiğan* 'he has not written', *jázmisam* 'if I do not write', *jazmaj* 'having not written', etc. However, in some tense forms the affix takes on the stress. The same happens in the negative form of the Future Participle.

In contrast to other Turkic languages the accentuation in Uigur does not always follow the general rule. Thus, in compound words whose first components are *här* 'every' and *hec* 'no' the accent is on the first component, e.g. *härkim* 'everyone', *härqajsi* 'everybody', *hečbir* 'no one', *härqandaq* 'whoever', *hečqacan* 'never', etc.

Various adverbs may have accent on an arbitrary syllable, e.g. *nahajiti* 'very', *xójma* 'quite', *bügün* 'today', *tünügün* 'yesterday', etc.

In the forms of the intensive and the superlative degree of the adjectives the accent is on the formants of the intensive or adverbs of the degree of comparison correspondingly. e.g. *qap-qara* 'very black', *sáp-serïq* 'very yellow', *áppaq* 'very white', *ang jaman* 'the worst', *bäk jaxši* 'the best', etc.

Postpositive particles, postpositive and auxiliary nouns are invariably unaccented, therefore the accent is usually on the corresponding syllable of the main word with which the former are combined, e.g. *sän ücün* 'for your sake'; *at biläп* 'on the horse', *sän biläп* 'with you', *öj icidä* 'in the room', *tağ tepisidä* 'on top of the mountain', *šähär jenida* 'near the town'; *män-mu* 'and I', *u-cu?* 'and he?', etc.

In reduplicated words the accent is on the final syllable of the first component, e.g. *az-köp* 'certain amount', *xotun-qïz* 'women'; if the final syllable of the first component is open the accent is on the preceding syllable: *bala-caqa* 'family', *ata-ana* 'parents', etc.

If a reduplicated word is composed of numerals the accent is on the final syllable of the second component, e.g. *qïrïq-ällik* 'forty-fifty', *on-onbäš* 'ten-fifteen', etc.

In compound verbs the accent is on the nominal part: *jardäm qïl-* 'to help', *därs bär-* 'to teach', *qarar qïl-* 'to decide', *näšr ät-* 'to publish', etc.

In compound verbs whose nominal part contains a locative affix the accent is on this affix, e.g. *tilğ al-* 'to mention', *sözgä käl-* 'to start talking', *tildin qal-* 'to stop talking (about the patients)', etc.

When *j* is dropped in the medial position, and *l* and *r* — in the medial and final positions, the preceding vowel is usually lengthened, thus becoming accented, e.g. *asun* 'let him take', *ağ ïn* 'take!', *qağa* 'crow', *qasi* 'which', *badim* 'I went', *buruq* 'order', *caqa-* 'to rinse', etc.

The principles of accentuation in the Chinese borrowings have not yet been established.

MORPHOLOGY

WORD AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

The root and affixes are elicited in the structure of the Uigur word. The root which is an irreducible unit functions independently in Uigur and is fully significative. Affixes do not

function independently and their sound form completely (with rare exceptions) depends on the root; therefore affixes usually have several variants depending on the phonemic form of the root.

The word may be non-derivative, derivative, compound, reduplicated or abbreviated. The non-derivative word in Uigur is usually mono- or disyllabic; it is very seldom that such words are trisyllabic (words of foreign origin may be even polysyllabic). Derivative words and composita formed by word juxtaposition are created by morphological means.

In Modern Uigur there are many words which historically emerged as derivatives or even composita, but which are now regarded as non-derivative, e.g. *žuquru* 'up', 'upwards', *ickiri* 'inside', *orǧaq* 'sickle', *tarǧaq* 'comb', etc.; the first two of the examples consist historically of the root and two affixes, while the two remaining examples are verbal nouns whose roots are used independently at present. Many Farsi or Arabic borrowings should be treated as historical derivatives or composita. From the point of view of the source language such words consist of a prefix and stem, or of the stem and a foreign affix, or, finally, of two independent significative words; in the latter case one of (or sometimes both) the components functions independently in Uigur. The majority of such derivatives or composita were created in Farsi or Arabic respectively; the Uigurs treat them as basically irreducible simple words. This group includes such words as *hämra* 'satellite', *becapā* 'poor wretch', *bädbäxt* 'unhappy', *betäräp* 'neutral', *bärpa* 'raising', *danišmän* 'sage', *atäšpäräst* 'fire-worshipper', *mehnätkäš* 'workingman', *xošal* 'joyful', *abroj* 'honour', *ašpäz* 'cook', etc.

This group includes also numerous Arabic derivative forms — masdars, active and passive participles, temporal and locative nouns, etc. These words are indivisible in Uigur and should therefore be regarded as simple, e.g. *kitap* 'book', *mäktäp* 'school', *mäktüp* 'writing', *katip* 'scribe' are derived from the verb *kätäbä* in Arabic; cf. also *hal* 'state', 'position', *ähval* - plural, *ähvalat* -double plural in Arabic deriving from the common root *hävälä*, etc. The following layer of irreducible stems (less numerous than the previous ones) is comprised by the words of Chinese origin: all Chinese borrowings in Uigur are treated by the Uigurs as indivisible simple words, irrespective of the fact that the separate components may be used independently (cf. *tän* 'regiment', *tändzang* 'colonel'; *pu* 'gun', *täjpu* 'howitzer'). Finally, indivisible words are represented by borrowings from Russian and from the languages of other fraternal peoples which penetrate Uigur through translation. Many derivatives are attested among these borrowings, e.g. *bolševik* 'bolshevik', *bolševizm* 'bolshevism', *bolševistik* 'bolshevist', *kommunist, kommunizm; kommunistik; kapitalizm* etc. The suffixes *-izm, -ist*, etc. which form these words in the source language do not exist in Uigur and do not participate in derivation. Therefore these words which are derivatives in Russian should be regarded as indivisible multisyllabic simple words in Uigur.

Prefixes attested in some borrowings are of a foreign origin (from Farsi, Arabic, and recently from Russian) and, as a rule, do not take part in derivation within Uigur; the following example illustrates an exception from this rule: the word *bevas* 'self-willed' is formed from the Uigur stem *bas* 'head' plus the prefix *be-*; at present this word should be regarded as simple (indivisible). Borrowings which include prefixes are regarded from the point of view of Uigur as indivisible simple words (at the same time the stems of such words may well be used independently in Uigur), e.g. the formations with the Farsi prefix *be-* expressing negation ('no', 'without') plus an Arabic or Farsi stem, e.g. *beädäp* 'uncivil', 'uncouth' (*ädäp* 'civility', 'courtesy'), *beäql* 'silly', 'unreasonanble' (*aqïl* 'reason'), *bebaha* 'priceless' (*baha* 'price'), *bevapa* 'untrue' (*väpa* 'fidelity'), *beväxt* 'untimely' (*växt* 'time'), etc.

Abbreviations, an ever expanding category of words in Modern Uigur, are treated as simple words by the language irrespective of their composition and character.

Thus, a significative word in Uigur may consist of: 1) the root which at the present stage is irreducible or which is treated by the speakers as irreducible (non-derivative); 2) the root plus a word-building affix (a derivative word); 3) a root or stem plus a form-building affix.Compound words (composita) are also used in Uigur; they include several roots and affixes.

Significative words in Uigur (which include substantives, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs and adverbs) have a full semantic value not only in the context but without it; such words have an independent accent; they may take on both derivative and grammatical (form-building) affixes.

The group of non-significative words is composed by the so-called words, which include postpositives, subordinate nouns, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Subordinate words do not have any independent meaning and express only grammatical relations between words; they do not carry an independent accent, do not take on derivative affixes and cannot form new words. Form-building affixes are added mostly to subordinate nouns; however, these affixes belong to locative cases only.

Affixes, if compared with subordinate nouns as regards their functions and semantics, belong to the next stage of grammatical abstraction: they either take part in derivation or express grammatical relations between words. Thus affixes are subdivided into word- and form-building.

Affixes may be either accented or unaccented. Their phonemic form follows that of the stem with respect to vocalic and consonantal harmony. At the same time there are affixes with permanent phonemic composition. Despite the law of vowel harmony there is a tendency in Uigur to prefer affixes with back vowels, even if the stem contains front vowels.

THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER

The Uigur word in its vocabulary form may express both the meaning of the singular and the plural, e.g. *qoj* 'sheep' (sg. and pl.), *adäm* 'man' and 'men'. Therefore when the substantive is ac-

companied by a numeral or adverb expressing quantity, the substantive does not take on the formant of the plural: *bäš qoj* 'five sheep'; *on at* 'ten horses'; *nurgun adäm* 'many people'; *az pul* 'little money'. At the same time the Uigur word may combine with the plural affix expressing in this case a multitude of types, sorts etc., e.g. *güllär* 'different flowers'.

The category of the plural is usually expressed morphologically by means of the two-variant affix *lar/lär*, the vowels of the affix may be reduced, e.g. *bala* 'child', *balilar* 'children', *baliliri* 'his children'. The final consonant of the affix is usually not pronounced, this, however, is not reflected in writing (exception: instead of *sizlär* 'you' the form *silä* is accepted in writing). The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons plural may in their turn join the affixes of the plural: *siz - sizlär > silä* 'you', *biz - bizlär* 'we'.

The notion of collectivity is usually rendered in Uigur by means of the plural affix, e.g. *dixanlar* 'peasantry', *jašlar* 'youth', *muällimlär* 'teachers (collectively)', etc. When the plural affix is joined to proper names it expresses the meaning of collective, e.g. *Mamutlar* 'Mamut with the members of his family' (cf. Engl. *the Joneses*).

When several homogeneous members of the sentence are listed, it is only the last which takes the plural affix, e.g. *kitap, däptär häm qägäzlirim* 'my books, copy-books and papers'.

In the possessivity affixes of the 1st and 2nd persons plural the archaic dual affix *z* functions as the plural formant, cf. *kitabim* 'my book' and *kitabimiz* 'our book'; *sözüng* 'the word' and *sözünguz* 'your (pl.) word'. When the archaic affix *z* is joined to the formant of the 2nd person imperative *-ng*, it adds the meaning of respect to the meaning of plurality, cf. *käl-* '(thou) come', *keling* '(pl.) come', *kelingiz* 'come, please'.

The affix of the reciprocal voice *-š* is often used to express the notion of plurality in the meaning of a mutual action; however the word in the form of the reciprocal voice with the meaning of plurality may in its turn take on the plural affix.

Reduplicated words also express to a certain extent the

idea of plurality, especially those based on repetition: *čong-kičik* lit. 'big-small' or '(everyone) from the small to the great'.

In all types of reduplicated words the plural affix is added only to the second component, e.g. *xotun-qīzlar* 'women', *bala-čaqīlar* 'the family (collect.)'. The names of the paired parts of the human body as well as of paired objects in general usually do not take on plural affixes, e.g. *mening kōzüm* 'my eyes'; if the idea of singularity has to be accentuated a corresponding attribute is placed before such names, e.g. *mening ong kōzüm* 'my right eye', *uning bir kōzi* 'his one eye', etc.

THE CATEGORY OF PREDICATION

If the noun or nominal forms of the verb function as the predicate (present tense), these nominal parts of speech take on the corresponding formants known as predicative affixes. This feature is characteristic of Uigur, as well as other Turkic languages. Thus, the syntactic category of predication is expressed in Uigur morphologically. The following affixes are employed:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*-män*	*-miz*
2nd pers.	*-sän*	*-silā (-sizlār)*
	-siz - the form of polite address	
3rd pers.	*-dur*	*-dur.*

The 3rd person affix is the same for the singular and plural, as it does not take on the corresponding formant in the plural. The 3rd person affix is usually omitted in speech. 1st and 2nd person sg. predicative affixes as well as a form of the 2nd person pl. predicative affix in Uigur are completely identical with the corresponding personal pronouns; it is quite easy to establish that the 1st person pl. predicative affix *-miz* comes from the personal pronoun *biz* 'we'.

The 3rd person affix *-dur* originates from the verb of state *tur-* 'to stand' (*-dur > turur*).

In Uigur, unlike other Turkic languages, predicative affixes do not have phonetic variants and do not undergo phonetic changes. Predicative affixes are unstressed and are always written jointly with the nominal part of the predicate:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*kišimān*	*kišimiz*
2nd pers	*kišisān*	*kišisilā*
3rd pers.	*kiši*	*kiši*

A nominal predicate formed by means of the predicative affix may have the subject - the corresponding personal pronoun which makes the sentence more concrete and exact. Since the 3rd person affix *-dur* is usually omitted, a conclusion can be made that in Modern Uigur nominal predicates take on predicative affixes only in the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural. In the 3rd person predication is expressed by means of a strict word order (the personal pronouns *u* 'he' and *ular* 'they' being given): the nominal predicate occupies the final position in the sentence, while it is preceded by the corresponding pronoun: *u muällim* 'he /is/ a teacher', *ular muällim* 'they /are/ teachers'.

The negative form of predication is expressed by means of the negative word *ämäs* to which predicative affixes are joined:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*muällim ämäsmän*	*muällim ämäsmiz*
2nd pers.	*muällim ämässän// ämassiz*	*muällim ämässilā*
3rd pers.	*muällim ämäs*	*muällim ämäs*

A nominal predicate in the negative form may have the corresponding personal pronoun in the position of the subject. In this case predicative affixes may be omitted (cf. *män muällim ämäsmän* and *män muällim ämäs* 'I /am/ not a teacher'), although the use of the nominal predicate in the negative form with predicative affixes is the norm for Modern literary Uigur. When a positive form is opposed to a negative one, this latter does not take on predicative affixes: *män išči ämäs*, *dixanmän* 'I /am/ not a

worker, but a peasant'.

In Uigur (unlike other Turkic languages) the interrogative particle *mu* is placed between the name and the predicative affix in the 2nd person singular and plural, although it may sometimes be used after the predicative affix (cf. *sän muällimmusän*? 'are you a teacher?', *siz muällimmusiz*? 'are you a teacher? (polite)', but also *sän muällimsänmu*?; *siz muällimsizmu*?).

THE CATEGORY OF POSSESSIVITY

The meaning of the belonging of the object of possession to the subject of possession is expressed in Uigur morphologically by means of the corresponding possessive affixes. Possessive affixes are added to the noun denoting the object of possession and mark simultaneously the person and number of the subject of possession; the noun denoting the object of possession may, in its turn, be either in the singular or plural. Unlike predicative affixes possessive formants are stressed.

In Modern Uigur possessive affixes in each of the three persons have several variants depending on the sound pattern of the noun; if the latter ends in a consonant, the possessivity affix receives a prothetic vowel *u/ü* or *a/ä*.

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*-m, -im/-ïm, -um/-üm, -am/-äm*	*-imiz/-ïmïz, -umïz/-ümiz*
2nd pers.	*-ng, -ing/-ïng, -ung/-üng, -ang/äng -ngiz; ingiz/ïngïz, ungiz/üngiz* - in Uigur forms mainly the polite variant of the 2nd pers.sg.	*-nglar, inglar/ïnglar, unglar/ünglär, anglar/änglär*
3rd prs.	*-si, -i/-ï*	*-si, -i/-ï*

3rd person singular and plural possessive affixes are identical. Whereas in many Turkic languages the 3rd person plural possessive affix includes the formant *-lar*, in Uigur this plural formant is contained only in the 2nd person plural possessive affix *-nglar*.

When the possessive paradigm is constructed for certain Arabic borrowings which lost their final consonants *h* or *ʿ* in Uigur, as well as for some Common Turkic words which lost their root semi-vowel *v(b)* or consonant *q*, affix variants with initial vowels are chosen; these affixes are joined to the final vowel of the word by means of the epenthetic *j*. The latter may alternate with *r* (due to the instability of pronunciation and spelling rules), e.g. *gunajim* 'my sin', *sijajim// sijarim* 'my ink', *matajim // matarim // matirim* 'my mata (a kind of cotton cloth)', *sujum* 'my water', *toxujum // toxurum* 'my hen'.

The most complete and exact rendering of the meaning of possessivity is an attributive combination in which an attribute — a personal pronoun or noun in the Genitive — is combined with a determined noun which includes the corresponding possessive affix (syntactico-morphological pattern), e.g. *mening kitivim* 'my book', *mening kitaplirim* 'my books', *bizning kitivimiz* 'our book', *bizning kitaplirimiz* 'our books'.

In Modern Uigur the idea of concrete possession may also be expressed syntactically, which is, apparently, the most ancient pattern; here the role of the attribute is played by the 1st or 2nd person plural personal pronouns in the Genitive, while the determined noun does not take on any formal possessive elements, e.g. *bizning jeza* 'our village', *sizning jezida* 'in your (pl.) village', *bizning mämlikättä* 'in our country'. The syntactic pattern is mainly characteristic of the colloquial speech, and partly — poetry.

The morphological and syntactico-morphological patterns of expressing possessivity (as well as the purely syntactic pattern) are utilized for rendering stylistic shades of meaning. When the morphological pattern is used the object of possession is in the focus of attention, while under the syntactico-morphological pattern it is the subject of possession. This can be illustrated by the following examples: *Bešim ämäs, közüm aǧrïjdu* 'My head does not, but my eyes do ache'; cf. *mening kitivim ämäs* 'the book

is not mine', and also *mening kitivimmu*? 'is the book mine? (and not somebody else's)', but *kitivimmu*? 'is the book (and not something else) mine ?'.

The syntactico-morphological pattern of expressing possessivity allows for the rearrangement of the components of the attributive syntagm in the usage of poetry and folk-lore. In this case the logical accent is on the determined word which contains the affix of possessivity, e.g. *közüm mening körmäjdu* 'My eyes, they do not see' (cf. *mening közüm körmäjdu* 'My eyes do not see').

The abstract possessivity is expressed morphologically: by means of special substantivised possessive pronouns and adjectives formed with the help of the compound affix *-(n)ingki* (the affix of the Genitive *ning* + the derivative affix *-ki*): *meningki* 'mine', *seningki* 'thine', *uningki* 'his', 'hers', *bizningki* 'ours', *sizningki; silärningki* 'yours', *ularningki* 'theirs'. Possessive pronouns and adjectives cannot function as attributes; they appear only as predicates when a definite object is implied: *Bu kimning kitivi*? 'Whose book is this?' — *Meningki*. 'Mine'.

THE CATEGORY OF CASE

In Uigur, as in all Turkic languages, there is only one declension paradigm for all nouns: case affixes have only phonetic varriants. In Uigur all nouns are declined including numerals, pronouns, certain adverbs, names of action, participles etc. as well as such substantives borrowed from Russian as *metro* 'underground railway', *palto* 'overcoat' and abbreviations like *KPSS* 'Communist Party of the Soviet Union', *SSSR* 'USSR'. The same case affixes are employed in nominal declension for the singular and plural.

The case system of Modern Uigur is largely identical with the one elicited from the early Uigur written monuments of the 5th-8th centuries although the affixes of certain cases in Old Uigur differ from the corresponding modern affixes, and the modern affix of the Ablative is not found at all in the early monu-

ments. The affix of the Locative performed the function of the Ablative in Old Uigur. The fact that the affixes of the Locative in Uigur (as well as in other Turkic languages) are identical with the corresponding Mongolian affixes, while this cannot be said of the Ablative formants, supports the hypothesis about a relatively recent character of the Ablative (according to this hypothesis the emergence of the Ablative in the Turkic, as well as Mongolian, languages must be dated from the period after the desintegration of the Turkic-Mongolian unity).

In Old Uigur there was an Instrumental case with the affixes *ing/ īng/ung/ūng*. The Instrumental expressed concommitance in the performance of action or an object by means of which the action was performed. The remnants of this case have survived only in temporal adverbs of some Turkic languages. At present the instrumental meaning is expressed by means of the postpositive *bilän* (often contracted into the form *la* which can legitimately be compared with the Mongolian affix of the Conjunctive case).

The modern affixes of the Lative case *-ǧa/-qa, -gä/-kä* were used in the earliest written monuments in Uigur alongside with the now extinct ancient affixes *-ra/-ru*[17] and the composite affix *-ǧaru/-qaru*, the latter is the combination of the affix *-ra/-ru* and the now existing affix *-ǧa* (or its phonetic variants).[18]

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[17] Cf. in Modern Mongolian the affix *-ruu* indicating the direction of action, also Turkish *bura* 'this place', *ura* 'that place', where indicative pronouns are directly combined with the ancient affix of the Instrumental; the word *asra* 'down' attested in the medieval monuments as well as the modern word *songra* 'afterwards', 'then' have the same character. The combination of the two formants of the Lative case is also found in the following words of Modern Uigur: *ickiri* 'inside', *taşqiri* 'outside', *žuquru* 'upwards', etc.

[18] A similar phenomenon may be observed in Turkish: *buraja* 'here', *burada* 'here', *buradan* 'herefrom'; *uraja* 'thereto', *urada* 'there', *uradan* 'thereforem'where indicative pronouns with the old affix appear as secondary stems and thus assume additionally affixes of spatial cases.

The affix *-g* (preserved in Modern Mongolian) existed in Uigur until the 11th century alongside with the now common affix of the Accusative.

The following cases exist in Modern Uigur: 1) the Common case, 2) the Genitive case, 3) the Dative-Lative case, 4) the Accusative case, 5) the Locative case and 6) the Ablative case.

Case affixes are usually joined directly to the noun, or, when the noun contains plural and/or possessive affixes, case affixes are placed after these (for separate exceptions from this rule cf. p. 73 , footnote 20).

The Common case has no formal grammatical indicators; its functions are much broader than those of the Russian Nominative: the Common case is used not only as the subject of the sentence, but as the attribute, object or modifier.

The Genitive case expresses the fact that one object belongs to another, or that objects entering into a given combination are related organically. The formant *-ning/-nīng* is the grammatical indicator of the Genitive, the labialised variants of the affix are attested in the colloquial speech: *-nung/-nüng*. The noun in the Genitive functions as an attribute, it is always accompanied by the determined word which includes the corresponding possessive affix — together they form an attributive word combination. The attribute expressed by the Genitive form and the modified word may be separated not only by single attributes but by whole attributive word combinations, e.g. *mening kitivim* 'my book', *mening jengi kitivim* 'my new book', *mening tünügün setivalgan jengi kitivim* 'my new book which I bought yesterday'.

The DativeLative case has the following formants: *-ǧa/-qa, -gä/-kä*; it expresses mainly the direction of action rendered by finite and non-finite verbal forms. The Dative-Lative of the name of action also expresses the aim and purpose of action: *Sizni körüškä käldim* 'I came to meet you'.

The Accusative case is formed by means of the affix *-ni/-nī* without phonetic variants. The Accusative governed

by transitive verbs expresses the object of action (its function is the direct object) ; when this case form appears with verbs of motion it expresses adverbial modifiers of place and time.

Sometimes the formants of the Genitive and the Accusative are identical, e.g. *atni beši* instead of *atning beši* 'the horse's head', *balini kitivi* instead of *balining kitivi* 'the child's book', *balilarni dadisi* instead of *balilarning dadisi* 'the children's father'.

The Locative case indicates the time or place of action. The Locative functions as the adverbial object, indirect object and adverbial attribute. The affix of the Locative has four variants: *-da/-dä/-ta/-tä*, e.g. *balida* 'the child has', *atta* 'on the horse', *kišidä* 'the man has', *törttä* 'at four'.

The Ablative case expresses the starting point of action and is formed by means of the two-variant affix *-din/-dīn/-tin/-tīn*, e.g. *balidin* 'from the child', *attin* 'from the horse'. Rather seldom (mainly in separate sub-dialects) this affix may have labialised variants *-dun/dün/-tun/-tün* (as, for example, in the Asin sub-dialect of Bashkir). The Ablative performs the functions of an indirect object or adverbial modifier of place, e.g. *Qāsqārdin käldim* 'I came from Kashghar'; *Bu kitapni kütüpxanidin aldim* 'This book I took from the library'; *Sizdin sorajmän* 'I ask you'; *Jüzümdin öpti* 'He kissed me on the cheeks'; *Uning nä järlik ekinini sözlišdin bildim* 'From his words I discovered where he was from', etc.

The following is an example of declension paradigms illustrating possible phonetic variants of case affixes:

Common case:	*ana* 'mother',	*kitap* 'book',	*däptär* 'copy-book',	*kök* 'sky'
Genitive:	*anining:*	*kitapning,*	*däptärning,*	*kökning*
Dative-Lative:	*aniǧa,*	*kitapqa,*	*däptärgä,*	*kökkä*
Accusative:	*anini,*	*kitapni,*	*däptärni,*	*kökni*
Locative:	*anida,*	*kitapta,*	*däptärdä,*	*köktä*
Ablative:	*anidin,*	*kitaptin,*	*däptärdin,*	*köktin*

Thus, case affixes in Uigur may have from one to four phonetic variants in the singular, and from one to two in the plural.

In Modern Uigur, as in other Turkic languages, one case form may quite often be used in the function of another case. Thus, the form of the Accusative is sometimes attested in the function of the Ablative:[19] *Kalining sütini qetïq ujutudu* 'Yogurt is made from milk'; the Dative-Lative — instead of the Locative: *Biz köktatlïqqa nurğun išliduq* 'We worked much at the kitchen-garden', cf. also *Män jarğa nimä qïldim, jaman közidä qarap* 'What have I done to my friend that he looks at me with angry eyes?', where the Locative is used instead of the combination of the noun with the postpositive *bilän*, etc.

There is no case corresponding to the Russian Instrumental case in Uigur. The instrumental meaning of the Russian Instrumental is rendered in Uigur by means of the analytic construction with the postpositive *bilän* (> *birlän*) which is written separately, e.g. *balğa bilän* 'with the hammer'; the same postpositive expresses another meaning of the Russian Instrumental - participation in action, e.g. *bala bilän* 'with the child', *at bilän* 'with a horse', 'on horse-back'. Uigur also does not know the case which would correspond to the Russian Prepositional case. The meaning of this Russian case-form is expressed analytically as well by means of such subordinate nouns as *häqqïda, toğrusida* or the postpositive *toğruluq*: *Sabit toğrusida* 'about Sabit', *xälq kommunisi toğrusida* 'about the people's commune', *Mamut toğruluq* 'about Mamut', *xälq toğruluq* 'about the people' etc.

A kind of a Comparative case is formed when the comparative affix is joined to nouns, e.g. *atdäk* 'like a horse', *kišidäk* 'like a man', *balilardäk* 'like children', *anilardäk* 'like mothers'.

Substantivised possessive adjectives derived by means of the affix *-ki* from the Genitive form of proper nouns and nouns denoting profession are declined, and may, for example, take on affixes of spatial cases: *Sabitningkidä* 'at Sabit's', 'at Sabit's house', *malčiningkidin* 'from the cattle-breeder's (house)', *dox-turningkidin* 'from the doctor's (house)'.

[19] The non-distinction of case functions (Locative and Ablative, Locative and Directive, Accusative and Genitive, etc.) is characteristic not only of Uigur, but of other Turkic languages as well.

The Locative form of the substantives and pronouns is the stem for the substantivised relative adjectives with the affix *-ki*. These forms are widely used in Uigur and, characteristically, may take on the affixes of spatial cases, of the plural as well as certain particles (*-mu, -ğu, -la, -cu* etc.), e.g. *uningdiğïnimu* 'and that which he has' (the Accusative affix plus the particle *-mu* are added), *mäktäptigilärnila* 'only those who are at school' (the affixes of the plural and Accusative plus the delimiting particle *-la*) . The following illustration of chain agglutination is of interest: *köčidiki* 'a person in the street (*lit.* 'streeter')', *köčidikilär* 'streeters', *köčidikilärning* 'at the streeters', *köčidikilärningki* 'the streeters'', *köčidikilärningkida* 'at the streeters'', *köčidikilärningkidiki* 'that which is at the streeters'', *köčidikilärningkidikilär* 'those which are at the streeters'', *köčidikilärningkidikilärgä* 'to those who are at the streeters''; interrogative particles *-mu* and *-ču* may be added to each of these forms.

In the word pattern possessive formants usually precede case affixes. The following are examples of declension paradigms with the 1st person singular possessive affix:

	Singular	
	dada + *m* 'my father',	*at* + *im* 'my horse'
The Common case	*dadam*	*etim*
The Genitive case	*dadamning*	*etimning*
The Dative-Lative case	*dadamğa*	*etimğa*
The Accusative case	*dadamni*	*etimni*
The Locative case	*dadamda*	*etimda*
The Ablative case	*dadamdin*	*etimdin*

The affix of the plural follows immediately after the noun,

thus preceding possessive and case affixes.[20]

Plural

dada + lar + im 'my father and the members of his family'

at + lar + im 'my horses'

The Common case	*dadilirim*	*atlirim*
The Genitive case	*dadilirimning*	*atlirimning*
The Dative-Lative case	*dadilirimğa*	*atlirimğa*
The Accusative case	*dadilirimni*	*atlirimni*
The Locative case	*dadilirimda*	*atlirimda*
The Ablative case	*dadilirimdin*	*atlirimdin*

POSTPOSITIVES

Postpositives and subordinate nouns are used for the specification and sometimes widening of the syntactic relations expressed by the case system. Therefore they are treated immediately following the section on case in the present exposition, which somewhat contradicts the traditional pattern of dealing with parts of speech.

Historically postpositives derive from significative words: some are even now used as nouns, adverbs, gerundives, etc. while at the same time performing the functions of postpositives.

All postpositives are written separately from the word which they govern and are unstressed. The postpositives may govern the Common, Lative and Ablative cases.

POSTPOSITIVES GOVERNING THE COMMON CASE

bilän 'with', 'together with' may govern the Genitive case when combined with personal pronouns.

[20] There are, however, instances in Uigur when possessive affixes may precede plural affixes - when they are added to kinship terms, e.g. *taǧa + m + lar* 'my uncle and the members of his family' (cf. the Genitive *taǧamlarning*, Dat.-Lat. *taǧamlarǧa*, Accus. *taǧamlarni*, Loc. *taǧamlarda*, Abl. *din*). If possessive affixes are thus shifted, the affixes of the Dative-Lative and Locative cases will, naturally, have only two phonetic variants each: *-ǧa/gä* and *-da/-dä*.

The meanings of *bilän* are diverse; the following examples will serve to illustrate them: *qerindaš bilän jazdim* 'I wrote with a pencil' (instrumental meaning); *ata bilän ana* 'father and mother' (conjunctive meaning); *Mamut bilän* 'with Mamut', *män bilän/mening bilän* 'with me' (the meaning of concurrence);[21] *Öjgä kirišim bilän uni kördüm* 'Just as I entered the house I saw him' (*bilän* renders the succession of actions in time in the combination with the name of action in *-s* which sometimes may have the possessive affix; the addition of the particle *-la* to the postpositive enhances the meaning of the rapidity of succession: *Mäktäpkä kirišim bilänla* 'Immediately after I entered the school'); *Män pojezd bilän käldim* 'I came with a train' (denotes a means of transportation); *Bu išlär täškilning bujruǧi bilän išländi* 'This work has been carried out on orders from the organization' (causative meaning); *Šu koca bilän kätti* 'He left along that street' (spatial meaning).

üčün (a contracted form *čün* is attested in poetry) 'for', 'for the sake of', 'because of'; the postpositive may govern the Genitive case in combinations with personal pronouns, e.g. *sän üčün/sening üčün* 'for your sake', in combinations with demonstrative pronouns *üčün* governs mostly the Genitive case: *šuning üčün* 'therefore', 'that is why'. The postpositive *üčün* expresses mainly the meanings of purpose, cause and space: *polat üčün küräš* 'battle for steel'. *Vätän üčün: xälqim üčün celišimän* 'I fight for the country, for my people'.

arqīlīq 'by means of', 'through', 'via' is formed from the substantive *arqa* 'back' (which may be used as a subordinate noun). It expresses mediating and spatial relations: *radio arqīlīq* 'over the radio'; *Pulni pocta arqīlīq xujlīdim* 'I sent the money through the mail'; *Män Bed3ingä Urumci arqīlīq barimän* 'I will go to Peking through Urumchi'.

[21] The meaning of concurrence may be enhanced by the addition of the adverbs *billä* 'together', *birgä* 'together with', *birliktä* 'jointly' of which *billä* is the most frequent, e.g. *Mamut bilän billä (birgä, birliktä)* 'together with Mamut'.

ara I 'between' is used both as a postpositive and subordinate noun: *Bu bir öz ara bolğan gäp edi.* 'This was a conversation that took place between us'.

ara II - an archaic postpositive attested mainly in poetry in the spatial meaning: *Dʒahan ara qïzidi küräš* 'Struggle broke out in the universe'; *baq ara* 'in the garden'.

bojičä 'on', 'because of', 'according to' (formed from the substantive *boj* 'stature', 'height'); it expresses the spatial-prosecutive meaning as well as relations of correspondence: *nämünä bojicä* 'after the standard', *qanun bojičä* 'according to law'.

boji 'during' (formed from the same substantive); it expresses the meaning of duration in time: *dʒillar boji* 'for years', 'during many years', *pütün kün boji* 'the whole days', *tün boji* 'the whole night'.

qädär expresses the meanings of comparison, correspondence, approximateness, sometimes identity: *bu qädär* 'to such a degree'; *Bir žil qädär växt ötti* 'Approximately one year passed'. When limit in time or space is expressed the postpositive governs the Lative case, e.g. *saät bäškä qädär* 'till five o'clock'; *U hazirğa qädär kälmidi* 'He has not yet come'.

toğruluq 'of', 'about', 'on' (formed from the adjective *toğru* 'straight'): *jardämci sözlär toğruluq umumij cušuncä* 'general information about auxiliary verbs', *bu toğruluq* 'about this'.

arilap (originally - the gerundive from the verb *arila-* 'to walk between something') expresses the meaning of periodicity in time or space: *kün arilap* 'every other day'; *Tağ arilap jangrajdu ämgäkčilär naxšisi* 'A song of the working people is heard in the mountains'.

atlap (originally - the gerundive from the verb *atla-* 'to step' 'to march') expresses the meaning of succession: *qur atlap* 'every other line'.

tašlap (originally – the gerundive from the verb *tašla-* 'to throw') expresses the meaning of succession (implying omission): *Bät tašlap oqudum* 'I was reading omitting some pages'.

POSTPOSITIVES GOVERNING THE DATIVE-LATIVE CASE

qaršï (originally – an adverb, may also function as a subordinate noun) expresses opposition: *Qähriman äskärlirimiz düšmangä qaršï hüdʒümgä ötti* 'Our heroic troops started an offensive against the enemy'.

körä (originally – the gerundive from the verb *kör-* 'to see') expresses the meaning of correspondence: *šünga körä* 'in accordance with this'. When this postpositive governs the Ablative, it expresses comparison: *Bu dʒigitkä xapa bolğandin körä, bašqa birär carä qollunuš muvapiq* 'It is better to take up some measures than to get angry with this young man'.

qarap 'to', 'along', 'towards' (originally – the gerundive from the verb *qara-* 'to look'); it expresses space relations: *ädʒdihar ot cecip sirğa qarap umtuldi* 'The dragon, fire erupting from its mouth, attacked the lion'.

qariğanda 'in comparison with' (originally, the Locative of the participle from the verb *qara-* 'to look') expresses the meanings of comparison, correspondence: *Adättikigä qariğanda bügün köprāk išliduq* 'Today we worked more than usual'; *xävärlärgä qariğanda* 'according to the reports'.

jariša (originally – the gerundive from the verb *jaraš-* 'to come ', 'to match', 'to fit') expresses the meaning of correspondence: *härkimning qabilijitigä jariša* 'according to everyone's ability'; *zamaniğa jariša* 'in the spirit of the times'.

oxšaš (originally – adjective) expresses the meaning of similitude *sanga oxšaš* 'like you'.

qarimaj: qarimastin 'in spite of', 'contrary to' (originally – the negative gerundive from the verb *qara-* 'to look'): *käsäl bolušiğa qarimaj* 'in spite of his illness'.

jeqïn 'at', 'to' (originally – adjective) expresses the meaning of approximation in space or relations: *küzgä jeqïn* 'by autumn'; *Ješi qirqqa jeqïn* 'He is almost forty'.

binaän 'according to', 'in keeping with', 'on the basis of'

(originally – an Arabic adverb): *šünga binaän* 'in keeping with that'.

nisbätän 'with respect to', 'in relation to' (originally – an Arabic adverb) is synonymous to the above-given *qarīğanda* and expresses the meanings of comparison and correspondence: *Uningğa nisbätän bu ärzanraq ämäsmu*? 'Isn't this one cheaper than the other?'

muvapīq 'in accordance with', 'corresponding to' (originally – an Arabic participle) is synonymous to the postpositive *jariša*: *özingä muvapīk* 'in accordance with you'.

taman 'to', 'towards' (originally – a substantive, may be used both as an independent and subordinate noun) denotes the direction of action and is synonymous to the postpositive *qarap*.

seri 'to', 'towards' is one of the oldest postpositives. It is synonymous to *taman* and may be used with the Common case: *Seküntlar seri güllinär bu jengi zaman* '(It): These new times are flourishing with every second'. It expresses theintensification of action when used with participles in *-gan*: *Barğan seri özining parlaq nurini cacidu* '(It) more and more sends its radiant beams'.

POSTPOSITIVES GOVERNING THE ABLATIVE CASE

The postpositives *ilgiri* 'earlier', *burun* 'before', *ävväl* 'formerly' are used to express temporal relations. Originally they derive from adverbs (the latter is an Arabic borrowing). All of them may still take on the affix of the comparative degree *-raq/-räk*: *U bizdin ilgiri käldi* 'He came earlier than we did'; *Sän bizdin burunraq käl* 'Come a little before us'.

kejin 'after', 'following', 'later', 'afterwards' expresses temporal and space relations: *tamaqtin kejin* 'after dinner'. A word or word combination denoting a moment in time may be inserted between the governed word and the postpositive: *mundin köp kejin* 'long after this'. The postpositive *kejin* derives from an adverb and may be used with the comparative degree affix *-räk*: *Saät bäštin kejinräk käldim* 'I came a little after five'.

songra 'after', 'following' (comes from the noun *song* modified by the old Lative affix *-ra*); the postpositive has a limited occurrence, it is sometimes attested in poetry.

beri 'since (a definite moment)', 'from' (comes from an adverb with the meaning 'here') has a temporal and spatial meaning: *Uc kündin beri jamğur jağmaqta* 'It has been raining for three days already'.

bujan is synonymous to *beri*; the demonstrative pronoun *by* 'this' and the noun *jan* 'side' comprise this postpositive. It expresses temporal relations: *šundin bujan* 'since then'.

bašlap 'beginning with' (originally – the gerundive from the verb *bašla-* 'to begin') expresses temporal and space relations: *10-marttin bašlap havalar buzulup kätti* 'Beginning with March 10 the weather got worse'.

tartip 'from', 'since' (originally – the gerundive from the verb *tart-* 'to draw') is synonymous to the postpositive *bašlap*: *Kicigimdin tartipla ämgäk qīlip pišqanmän* 'Ever since my early years I was hardened in work'.

neri – comes from an adverb meaning 'thither'; this postpositive is synonymous to the postpositive *beri* and has a temporal and spatial meaning.

bašqa 'apart from', 'other' (originally an adjective) has the meaning of exclusion, deprivation: *Sändin bašqa turalmajmän* 'Without you I cannot live'.

tašqīri 'out (of)', 'outside', 'apart from': *qanundin tašqīri* 'outlaw' (originally – the noun *tas* 'the outer part' with the old formant of the Lative *-ka* + *-ri/-ru*).

POSTPOSITIVES GOVERNING THE ACCUSATIVE CASE

bojlap (originally – the gerundive from the verb *bojla-* 'to go along the shore', 'to walk in the water measuring the depth'); it expresses spatial relations: *U därjani bojlap kätti* 'He went away along the river bank'.

jaqīlap 'along' (originally – the gerundive from the verb *jaqīla-* 'to walk along the bank') is synonymous to bojlap.

SUBORDINATE NOUNS

Subordinate nouns are used to express grammatical relations between words similarly to the postpositives; however, unlike the latter they generally modify the meanings expressed by the spatial cases. Unlike the postpositives the subordinate nouns have grammatical forms: they assume possessive affixes of all three persons singular and plural (some subordinate nouns of the Arabic origin, e.g. *asasida*, may assume only 3rd person possessive affixes), as well as the affixes of spatial cases. Thus, every subordinate noun may have eighteen forms, e.g. *mening üstimdä* (or *-dän, -gä*) 'on me', *sening üstingdä* (*-dän, -gä*) 'on thee', *uning (ularning) üstidä* (*-dän, -gä*) 'on him (them)', *bizning üstimizdä (-dän, -gä)* 'on us', *sizning üstinizdä (-dän, -gä)* or *silärning üstiliringdä (-dän, -gä)* 'on you'. Subordinate nouns when taken without these grammatical formants lose their subordinate character and appear in their principal nominal meanings. A combination of a subordinate noun with a noun in the Genitive case form (or, more seldom in the Common case form) gives an Isaphet construction.

The following are some of the subordinate nouns: *ara* 'interval', *asas* 'base', *ald* 'front', *arqa* 'back', *ast* 'bottom', *atrap* 'vicinity', *ottura* 'middle', *üst* 'top', *öp-cörä* 'vicinity', *udul* 'opposite', *ic* 'inside', *boj* 'stature', 'bank', *tašqīri* 'outside', 'elevation', *toğru* 'truth', *tüp* 'bottom', *täg* 'under', 'below', *xusus* 'feature', *qaršı* 'against', *qaš* 'near', *häq* 'right', *jan* 'side', *kejin* 'back part', *jaqa* 'bank', *köj* 'corner', *taman* 'side', etc.

PARTS OF SPEECH

Although the problem of the parts of speech in the Turkic languages remains debatable the principal parts of speech are more or less unambiguously identified. In such languages as Uigur where, with rare exceptions, no morphological formants may be elicited in root stems, the semantic features of the word shouls be utilised as distinctive as well as its syntactic patterns and grammatical forms which distinguish the given part of speech.

Semantic and morphological features distinguish the nouns and verbs among the significative parts of speech and subordinative words — among the non-significative parts of speech. The verbal noun occupies an intermediate position between the noun and the verb, while the subordinate noun is intermediate between the noun and the subordinative words. The adjectives, numerals and pronouns may be distinguished in the group of the noun by their semantic and morphological features as well as by syntactic structures. Certain groups of adverbs occupy an intermediate position between the significative and non-significative words close to the adjectives. All these features are important for their identification. There is also a substantial number of non-derivative words which have no specific morphological features whatsoever and whose semantics makes it possible for such a word to be referred to different parts of speech, e.g. *jaman* taken independently means 'bad' and 'badly', when the plural affix is added *jaman* becomes a member of the class of substantives; *qīz īq* may mean 'interestingly', 'interesting' and 'interest'; *baliliq* 'childhood' and 'having children'; *žuquri* may mean 'high', 'highly' and 'height'.

Such words are numerous in Uigur. The most reliable diagnosis in these cases is the type of syntactic pattern. However, even all three features may in some cases prove to be insufficient to determine the main meaning of the word; then the fourth criterion is to be applied — the ability of the word to assume given affixes. If the comparative degree affix may be joined to the word, it is referred to the class of adjectives since the comparative degree is a form characteristic of this part of speech, e.g. *cungqur* means 'deep', 'deeply', 'depth' and 'pit' and may at the same time take on the affix *-raq* : cungqurraq 'deeper', according to this criterion the word is considered an adjective. This word is substantivised when the plural affix is added: *cungqurlar* 'pits', while it may also function as an adverb meaning 'deeply' when it is used as an adverbial modifier of action (i.e. adverbial attribute).

From the point of view of the stem changeability all the words of the language are classified as changing and unchanging. The changing parts of speech include the substantives, adjectives, numerals, pronouns and verbs, while the unchanging parts of speech consist of the adverbs, conjunctions, postpositives, particles and interjections. However, there may be cases when possessive and case affixes are added to interjections, e.g. *uning vaj-vajǐğa qarimaj* 'in spite of his bellowing' (*lit:* 'his ow-ows'); *Otkändin kejin vaj-vajdin nimä pajda?* 'What's the use of your "ow-ow" now that all's been done'. Subordinate nouns may take on only possessive and spatial case affixes.

Changing parts of speech are classified into nouns and verbs, i.e. declined and conjugated words.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

The substantives are characterised by the categories of possessivity, number and case. Word- and form-building affixes are added to the nouns in a very strict order: derivative affixes precede the plural affix which precedes the case affix, the latter (with isolated exceptions) precedes the particles; at the same time there are situations when the plural affix follows possessivity and case affixes.

The substantives are subdivided into derivative and non-derivative. Non-derivative words are irreducible morphologically from the point of view of the modern language. Derivative words consist of a root and one or several word-building (derivative) affixes. Compound substantives are formed by word composition, e.g. *is* 'job', 'work' is a non-derivative noun; *išči* 'worker' is a derivative formed from the same root by means of *-ci*, a productive affix of a nomen agentis widely used at present. *Targaq* 'comb' is a historical derivative from the verb *tara-* 'to comb' which is in current use, however, the noun is regarded as non-derivative from the point of view of the modern language,

since the affix *-ǧaq* now performs an altogether different function in forming derivatives whose meaning is close to the general idea of the adjective.

Certain affixes are characteristic only of definite parts of speech and are not used with others, e.g. the affix *-ci* is mostly added to substantives and only in isolated cases to numerals: *xizmät* 'service' — *xizmätci* 'clerk', 'official', *qīrīq* 'forty' — *qīrīqči* 'a person that gets forty units of something'; this affix may not be added, say, to an adjective. The affix *-līq* when added to a substantive forms an adjective with a meaning of possession: *küc* 'strength' — *küclük* 'strong', *qīš* 'winter' — *qīšlīq* 'wintry'. The same affix when added to adjectives or numerals gives a substantive with a meaning of an abstract quality: *qīzīl* 'red' — *qīzīllīq* 'redness', *bir* 'one' — *birlik* 'unity'; when added to a place name the suffix forms a noun related to the place name: *Qäšqär* 'Kashghar' — *qäšqärlīq* 'a Kashghari', etc.

THE ADJECTIVE

The adjectives are subdivided into non-derivative and derivative according to their structure.

The non-derivative adjectives may denote colour: *qīzīl* 'red', *kök* 'blue', *aq* 'white', *ješil* 'green' etc.; spatial or temporal relations: *toğra* 'straight', *ong* 'right', *sol* 'left', *cong* 'big', *kicik* 'small', *käng* 'wide', etc., ; physical properties and qualities of objects: *eğir* 'heavy', *jenik* 'light'; words denoting outer physical or bodily qualities of living creatures: *jaš* 'young', *qeri* 'old', *oruq* 'lean', etc.[22]

Some non-derivative adjectives may be substantivised when used as the modified noun, e.g. *tuxumning eqī* 'the white of the egg', *tünning qarisi* 'the night's darkness'; *Bir qara körünidu* 'A certain form is seen'; *Bir cungqurğa cüšüp kättim* 'I fell down into

[22] The composition of the non-derivative adjectives is not limited by the groups listed here. The function of qualitative adjectives in attributive word combinations may be performed by the substantives denoting substance or material, e.g. *taš körük* 'stone bridge', *jağac öj* 'wooden house'.

a pit', etc. Many adjectives may perform the function of an adverbial modifier of action, i.e. adverbial attribute, e.g. *jaxši oqu-* 'to read well'.

Derivative adjectives are formed by specifically adjectival affixes as well as by the adjective-substantival formants. Adjectives are derived mainly from the substantives and verbs. Pronouns and adverbs may sometimes also be used for adjective derivation; the adjectivising affix may even follow some case affixes, verb tense formants, etc. Relative and locative adjectives are all derivatives formed by means of the corresponding affixes from other parts of speech.

The comparative and superlative degrees of comparison are distinguished among the Uigur adjectives. The former is constructed both morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically the comparative degree is formed by means of the suffix *-raq/-räk*: *jaxširaq* 'better', *uzunraq* 'longer'. This affix may also express a diminution of quality, its comparative deficiency, e.g. *uššaǧraq* 'somewhat smaller', *accīǧraq* 'bitterish'. The affix *-raq/-räk* may also be added to postpositive adverbs: *burun* 'formerly', *ilgiri* 'before', *kejin* 'after', to derivative adverbs: in *-ca/-cä* (*ujǧurciraq* 'somewhat Uigur'), as well as to the gerundives and certain adverbs of measure and degree (*azraq* 'somewhat finer', *dzīqraq* 'somewhat larger', etc.).

The syntactic (or analytical) model of the comparative degree formation requires the name of the compared object to be put in the Ablative form preceding the adjective, e.g. *Mamuttin küclük* 'stronger than Mamut', *qardin aq* 'whiter than snow', etc. The adjective in this case may take on the affix of comparison as well, e.g. *bu öj u öjdin egizräk* 'this house is (somewhat) higher than that house'. The syntactic model may also include the postpositives *qariǧanda, körä, nisbätän*, which evoke the Dative-Lative case in the form of the noun denoting the object being compared, e.g. *uninǧǧa qariǧanda bu jaxši* 'this is better than that', *bu uninǧǧa nisbätän arzanraq* 'this is slightly cheaper than that'.

In Uigur as in other Turkic languages a limited group of

adjectives expressing colour has the degree of the decrease of quality formed by means of the affixes *-uś/-üš/-iš; -ǧuc/-ǧüč, -mtul* (some root phonemes may be dropped), e.g. *eqis* 'whitish', *köküš* 'bluish', *qïzǧuc* 'reddish', *qaramtul* 'blackish', from *serïq* 'yellow' — *saǧuc* 'yellowiti ', etc. A diminusve-endearing form is constructed by means of the affixes *-ǧïna/-qïna, -ginä/-kinä*, e.g. *jaxšiǧïna* 'sweet', 'nice', *kicikkinä* 'tiny', 'very small', *tatliqqïna* 'sweety'.

The superlative degree is expressed by the combination of the adjectives with adverbial words *äng* 'the most', *bäk* 'very', *nahajiti/najiti* 'immensely', *ǧajät* 'extremely', *xojma* 'super', *taza* 'very', etc., e.g. *bäk amraq* 'very friendly', *najiti nurǧun* 'very much', *xojma tatlïq* 'extremely sweet', etc. The superlative degree may be expressed periphrastically, by the combination of the adjective with the pronouns *hämmä, barcä* 'all' in the Ablative form, e.g. *hämmiddin joǧan* 'bigger than all', *barcidin küclük* 'stronger than all', or by the repetition of the adjective, the first form being the Ablative, e.g. *toǧridin toǧri* 'straight-straight', 'the straightest of the straight', 'the very correct'; *ocuqtin ocuq* 'without any secret', 'the most open'. The superlative degree may also be expressed by the combination of a noun denoting the object being compared in the Genitive or Ablative plural or singular in the position of the determined word plus a substantivised adjective with the 3rd person possessive affix; the adjective may be accompanied by the above mentioned adverbial words of the superlative degree, e.g. *atning jaxšisi* 'the best of the horses', *atlarning äng jaxšisi* 'the very best of the horses'.

The intensive degree of quality is expressed by a partial reduplication of the adjective (the first syllable plus an additional consonant is repeated), e.g. *qap-qara* 'absolutely black', *sap-serïq* 'very yellow', *köm-kök* 'perfectly blue'. Sometimes adjective reduplication may be used to express a deficient quality, e.g. *Osümlük köm-kök bolup qaptu* 'The plants grew quite green'.

The affixes of the adjectives (apart from the affix *-lïq/-lik*) practically serve as morphological identifiers of this part

of speech. The formant *-lïq/-lik* forms substantives, apart from participating in the adjectives with a meaning of possession.

ADVERBS

The adverbs are closely connected with the adjectives. The same words may be used as both adverbs and adjectives depending on their syntactic occurrence (this is true of derivatives as well), e.g. *ujğurcä sözläš* 'to speak Uigur' and *ujğurčä jezïq* 'the Uigur writing'; *qährimanänä härikät* 'heroic feat' and *qährimanänä dzäng qïl-* 'to fight heroically'. The adverbs of place, time, manner, measure and degree, cause, negation and affirmation are distinguished. They are classified grammatically into non-derivative and derivative, reduplicated, compound and complex formed syntactically. The following is the list of the currently used adverbs.

1. Non-Derivative[23]

Adverbs of manner: *qandaq* 'how', *asta* 'slowly', *capsan* 'quickly', *arang* 'hardly', *ildam* 'swiftly', *asan* 'easily', *bikar* 'for nothing', 'to no purpose', 'free of charge', *säl* 'scarcely', *sekin* 'quietly', *obdan* 'well', *jaman* 'badly', *jaxši* 'good', *tätür* 'against', *rasa* 'in fact'.

Adverbs of place: *zuquri* 'up', *tüvän* 'down', *beri* 'here', *neri* 'there', 'further', *mäsä* 'right here', *äsä* 'right there', *ziraq* 'far', *jeqin* 'near', *uzaq* 'far off', *alga* 'forward'.

Adverbs of time: *bügïn* 'today', *kecä* 'yesterday', *kündüz* 'in the daytime', *axšam* 'in the evening', *hazir* 'now', *kejin* 'after', *ätä* 'in the morning', *käcqurun* 'in the evening', *burun* 'earlier', *avval* 'formerly', *ilgiri* 'before', *bultur* 'last year', *baldur* 'earlier', *ozal* 'the day before yesterday', *haman* 'always', *baja* 'lately', *ämdi* 'now', *dajim* 'constantly', *heli* 'at present', *härgiz* 'never', *asla* 'never', *därro, därhal* 'immediately'.

[23] Historically derivative adverbs now regarded as non-derivative are also included here (e.g. *bügün* 'today').

Adverbs of measure and degree: *köp; ziq; nurğun* 'many', *az, käm* 'little', *xojma* 'very', *najiti* 'very', 'extremely', *intajin* 'quite', *bäk* 'very', *xeli* 'considerably', *jalğuz* 'lonely', *päqät* 'only', *jänä* 'more', *mol* 'much', *talaj* 'substantially', *texi* 'yet', *ğajät* 'very', *mutlaq* 'absolutely', *tämamän* 'completely'.

Adverbs of cause and purpose: *ätäj* 'deliberately', *qästän* 'consciously', *ätäjin* 'deliberately'.

2. Derivative

Adverbs of manner: *birga* 'together', *birlän* 'mutually', *birdän* 'unexpectedly', *bašqicä* 'differently', *qährimananä, batirlarcä* 'heroically', *dostanä* 'in a friendly manner', *tağdak* 'like a mountain', *üzlüksiz* 'continuously', *tujuqsiz* 'unexpectedly', *zorğa* 'hardly', 'with difficulty'.

Adverbs of place: *mäšädä* 'right here', *žiraqta* 'far off', *žiraqqa* 'into the far', *neridin* 'from afar', *mäšädin* 'right from here', *uzaqtin* 'from the distance', *nerigä* 'thence', *žuquriğa* 'upwards', *pästtä* 'below', *qujidin* 'from beneath', *jandin* 'sideways'.

Adverbs of time: *tündä* 'at night', *cušligi, cüštä* 'at noon', *qïšta* 'in winter', *ämdigicä* 'until now', *ämdilik* 'at this moment', *burundin* 'long since', *äzäldin* 'from time immemorial', *azanda* 'in the morning', *sähärdä* 'at dawn', *xeligicä* 'for a long time', 'still'.

Adverbs of measure and degree: *jenimu* 'more', *pütünläj* 'wholly', *jetärlik* 'enough'.

Adverbs of cause and purpose: *uxmastin* 'giving no thought'.

3. Adverbs Originating from Participles and Gerundives[24]

Adverbs of manner: *harmaj, talmaj,* 'incessantly', *zerikmäj* 'without feeling bored', *aldirap* 'hurriedly', *onlap* 'in

[24] Only those adverbs are included here which are formed from participles and gerundives which continue to function as such in modern Uigur.

dozens', *jüzläp* 'in hundreds', *jaxšilap* 'in a friendly way', *ätäjläp* 'deliberately'.

Adverbs of time: *däsläp* 'at first'.

Adverbs of measure and degree: *nurğunliğan* 'multitude', *mingligän* 'thousands'.

Adverbs of cause and purpose: *öckäp* 'out of revenge', *bilmäj* 'giving little attention', *pajqimaj* 'unnoticeably', *uqmaj* 'without understanding', *pämlimäj* 'without understanding'.

4. Reduplicated Adverbs

Adverbs of manner: *harmaj-talmaj* 'incessantly', *qolmu-qol* 'directly', *közmu-köz* 'with one's own eyes', *nahäqtinnahäq* 'unjustly', *kör-köranä* 'blindly'.

Adverbs of place: *neri-beri* 'back and forth', *undamunda* 'here and there', *aldin-kejin* 'to and fro'.

Adverbs of time: *ätä-keč* 'the whole day', *qišin-jazin* 'all the year round', *küni-türi* 'day and night', *bügün-ätä* 'very nearly', 'from day to day', *kündin-küngä* 'from day to day', *andasanda* 'from time to time'.

Adverbs of measure and degree: *az-maz* 'a little', *säl-päl* 'just a little', *tola-tolmas* 'not nearly', *on-ondin* 'tenfold', *az-köp* 'in all', *uncä-muncä* 'any number'.

5. Adverbs Formed Syntactically

Adverbs of place: *härqäjärdä* 'everywhere', *älläqajaqta* 'God knows where', *šu järgä* 'there', *bu järdä* 'here'.

Adverbs of time: *härqacan* 'always', *birkün* 'once', *künlärdä birkün* 'one of these days'.

Adverbs of measure and degree: *birjola* 'at once', *birtalaj* 'a great number', *birmuncä* ' a certain amount'.

THE NUMERAL

The numerals are subdivided into cardinal, ordinal, divisional, fractional, collective and indefinite-cardinal.

In complex numerals the names of higher orders precede the names of lower ones, e.g. *on bäš* 'fifteen', *tört jüz ottuz bäš* 'four hundred and thirty five'. If a complex numeral denotes one

hundred, thousand, etc. the numeral *bir* 'one' is obligatory: *bir jüzällik* 'a hundred and fifty'. An archaic word *tümän* denotes ten thousand. When a cardinal numeral is used in the combination with a name of the object being counted, the latter is always in the singular: *on bala* 'ten children'; the same may be said about the combinations with numerals of other orders, e.g. *jüzligän adäm* 'hundreds of people', *minglärcä däräx* 'thousands of trees'.

Cardinal numerals may be used with the affix *-lïq/-lik*: *bašlik* 'something denoting five', 'a five'; *minglik* 'something denoting a thousand', etc. When possessive affixes are added cardinal numerals are substantivised: *ikkimiz* 'the two of us', *ikkimizgä* 'to the two of us'.

The ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinal numerals by means of the affix *-nci/-inci* which is added to the numeral denoting unities in complex numerals: *birinci* 'first', *on birinci* 'eleventh', *bir jüz on törtinči* 'hundred and fourteenth'. Ordinal numerals when used with possessivity affixes are substantivised, the same happens when case or number affixes are added: *ücincisi* 'the third of us', *ucincisigä* 'to the third of us', *törtinčilär* 'the fourths'.

Divisional numerals are formed from cardinal ones by means of the Ablative affix: *ondin* 'by a ten', *jüzdin* 'by a hundred'.

In fractional numerals[25] the numeral in the Ablative expressing the denominator precedes the numeral in the Common case expressing the numerator: *bäštin bir* 'one fifth', *mingdin bir* 'one thousandth'.

Collective numerals are formed by means of the affixes *-län/-ülän* and answer the questions *näcilän?* and *qancilän?* absent in other Turkic languages: *bäšülän* 'five together', *ikkilän* 'two together'.

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[25] The words *jerim* and *ceräk* express the notions of 'half' and 'quarter'. The former may combine with a cardinal numeral (*on jerim* 'ten and a half'), while the latter cannot.

Indefinite-cardinal numerals are formed by means of the affixes *-ča/-čä, -liğan/-ligän, -lap/-läp*, e.g. *onča* 'about ten', *onlarčä* 'in tens', *mingläp* 'in thousands', *mingligan* 'in thousands'.

Rough count may be expressed by reduplicated numerals, as *on-on bäš* 'ten-fifteen', *bir-ikki* 'several (*lit.* 'one-two')'. The same idea may be expressed by adding the word *näccä* 'how much': *on näccä* 'more than ten', *jüz näccä* 'more than a hundred'.

In the expressions of time the cardinal numeral is always preceded by the word *saät* 'hour': *säät bäš* 'five o'clock', *saät bäš jerim* 'half past five'. When a question about the time is asked the interrogative pronoun *naccä* 'how many', 'how much' follows the word *saät* (sometimes the verb *bol-* in the form of the Past categoric tense is added): *saät näccä?* (*Saät näccä* boldi? 'What time is it?'). The count of minutes is expressed in a double way: during the first half of an hour the number of minutes which elapsed since the beginning of the hour is given, while in the second half it is the number of minutes still to pass until the beginning of the next hour: *üctin on minut ötti* 'ten minutes past three', *on minut käm bäš* 'ten minutes to five', the word *saät* is usually omitted.

PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns are represented by the following words:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*män*	*biz*
2nd pers.	*sän, siz*	*silä*
3rd pers.	*u*	*ular*

All personal pronouns except man may combine with the plural affixes: *bizlär; sänlär, silä* (< *sizlär*), *ular*.

The personal pronoun *silä* apparently goes back to the old 2nd person pronoun **si* (which gave *siz* 'you' after takingon the old plural affix *-z*) + the plural affix *-lär* > *-lä*. It can also be assumed that *silä* is the result of a more recent process of reduction: *silä* < *sizlä* < *sizlär*.

The form *silä* is at present the most widely used pronoun of the 2nd person plural. This form is perfectly literary and has almost entirely replaced the pronoun *siz*, the latter being used mostly as a polite address

The 3rd person singular and plural personal pronouns are at the same time demonstrative pronouns meaning 'that' (for all genders), 'those',

The declination pattern of the personal pronouns has the following peculiarities:

a) the pronouns *män, sän* lose their final consonant *-n* in the Genitive and Accusative (as well as in the complex case forms of the Locative and Ablative): *män + ni* > *meni* ;

b) the form *ening* (< *aning*) is used alongside with the common Genitive form of the 3rd person singular personal pronoun *uning*. The same refers to the demonstrative pronoun.

c) the wide front root vowel *ä* is changed into *a* in the Ablative of the personal pronouns; the case affix *-ğa* is contaminated with the final *-n* of the pronouns giving *-na*.

d) it is possible to join the Locative and Ablative affixes directly to the stem of the personal pronouns singular (an epenthetic *-n-* appears in the 3rd person pronoun); however, the literary norm of the modern language demands that the spatial affixes should be added to the Genitive form of the above mentioned pronouns;

e) the Lative form of the 3rd person pronoun *u* is constructed by means of joining the affix *-ğa* to the Genitive form of the pronoun.

The following is the declension paradigm of the personal pronouns:

	Singular		
Case	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.
Common	*män*	*sän*	*u*

Genitive	*mening*	*sening*	*uning*[26]
Lative	*manga*	*sanga*	*uningga*
Accusative	*meni*	*seni*	*uni*
Locative	*mändä*	*sändä*	*unda*
	meningdä	*seningdä*	*uningdä*
Ablative	*mändin*	*sändin*	*undin*
	meningdin	*seningdin*	*uningdin*

Plural

Case	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers.
Common	*biz*	*siz*	*ular*
Genitive	*bizning*	*silärning*	*ularning*
Lative	*bizgä*	*silärgä*	*ularga*
Accusative	*bizni*	*silärni*	*ularni*
Locative	*bizdä*	*silärdä*	*ularda*
Ablative	*bizdin*	*silärdin*	*ulardin*

Personal pronouns in any case form may combine with the delimitative particle *-la*, interrogative particles *-mu* and *-cu*, affirmative particle *-gu*, conjunctive particle *-da/-dä*, and negation *ämäs*, e.g. *män-dilä* 'only with me'; *sändimu bar* 'and you have (it)'; *mangacu?* 'and to me?'; *mändingu alding* 'but you took it from me'; *bizdidä bar* 'and we have'; *bizgä ämäs* 'not to us'; *bizdinla ämäs* 'not only from us'; *bizdila ämäs* 'not only with us'. The combination of a personal possessive pronoun with the postpositive *bilän* which in this case governs the Genitive is usually accompanied in Uigur by the adverb *billä* (< *birlä*) — in other Turkic languages it corresponds to *birgä*(: *mening bilän billä* 'together with me'.

Demonstrative pronouns. According to their meaning the demonstrative pronouns are subdivided into those pointing at near or remote objects, while their grammatical composition divides them into simple and compound. *Bu* is used to refer

[26] The form *uning* (reduced variant of *aning* — the latter being preserved in Tatar) is widely used in Uigur alongside with *uning*.

to a near, visible object ('this'), while *u* refers to a more distant one ('that'). *Šu* refers to an invisible remote object which is mentally conceivable ('that there'), e.g. *bu kiši* 'this man', *u kiši* 'that man', *šu kiši* 'that very man' (who was spoken of).

Of the many compound demonstrative pronouns the following will be considered: *oša* which consists of two components — *u* (or the old **oš*) plus *šu*, in the process of combination the first component lost its *š* or its narrow labial changed into broad, while in the second component the narrow labial changed into the broad non-labial, the meaning of *oša* is 'that very' (the known remote object which has already been mentioned). The compound pronoun *ošal* is also used, it means 'that there'; its origin may be explained alternatively: *u* + *šol* (the full form of *šu*), or the old *oš* + *ul* (the full form of *u*). The pronoun *ušbu* is also composed of two pronouns, the first of which *uš* goes back to the old *oš* 'that', while the second *bu* is already known; according to the meaning of its components *ušbu* is used to refer to known visible objects: *ušbu kitap* 'this here book'. Thus compound pronouns *oša/ošal* and *ušbu* refer to stated, known objects but express different degrees of proximity in space or time (cf. *oša saät* 'at that hour', *ušbu saättä* 'now', 'right now').

Two more simple demonstrative pronouns are opposed by their meanings — *änä* and *mana*, of which the first refers to a more distant object, while the second refers to a near, visible one. However in certain fixed combinations they are interchangeable: instead of *mana xalas* 'what a surprise' one can say *änä xalas;* These pronouns may combine with other demonstrative pronouns: *änä u* 'that there', *mana bu* 'this here', etc.; contraction gave such formations as *manabu* (cf. also *anavu*), *mavu*, *mävu* and *munu*, which go back to *mana bu*; *avu* > *ävu* and *ašu* > *äšu* go back to *änä u* and *änä šu*. The pronoun *tana* 'there' ('that remote there') which is now seldom used is undoubtedly compound. The presence of the pronoun *tavu* which is likewise compound and refers to a still more distant object enables one to infer the existence of a simple demonstrative pronoun *ta* (reference to a remote object).

Thus the following patterns of formation may be assumed: *tana* *ta + änä*, *tavu* < *ta + u* and *anavut* (reference to a still more remote object) *änä + u + ta*. The pronoun *anuna* used to refer to very remote objects has, apparently, its origin in reduplication *änä + änä*. One may also assume that compound pronouns *manavu* and *anavu* ('this here' and 'that there') consist correspondingly of a simple demonstrative pronoun (*mana or änä*) and the affix *-ǧu*. If this is the case *avu* and *mavu* cited above are, in all probability, contracted forms of these pronouns. It could just as well be assumed that *avu* and *mavu* go back to the same *änä u* and *mana bu*. The compound pronoun *mušu* used to refer to a known, near object consists, in our opinion, of two components, the first (*mu* > *bu*) referring to a near object, and *šu* – to a remote one.

Demonstrative pronouns have some peculiarities in declension. In certain cases the affix is added directly to the stem, while in others it is joined to the Genitive of the stem. There are cases when both forms exist side by side. The pronouns *mana*, *änä*, *tana*, *anavut* merge in declension with their derivatives *manavu* and *mavu*, *anavu* and *avu*, etc. The Genitive of the pronoun *anuna* is rather peculiar: the final broad *a* is reduced: *a* > *i*, the stem thus obtained receives a curtailed Genitive formant *-ng*, which gives the form *anung*, used as the stem for declension.

In the paradigm of the pronoun *bu* the initial *b* alternates regularly with *m* (also when derivative and compound pronouns with *bu* are formed), e.g. *muni* (Accus.), *munda* 'here', etc. The pronoun *u* 'that' unlike *bu* 'this' may appear as *ening* (along with *uning*) in the Genitive; both these forms may function as the basic stem in the paradigm.

The following is the declension paradigm of the demonstrative pronouns in the singular (the plural paradigm follows general rules):

Case	*u* 'that'	*šu* 'that there'	*anuna* 'that far'
Common	*u*	*šu*	*anuna*
Genitive	*uning/ening*	*šuning*	*anuning*

Lative	*uningǧa/ eningǧa*	*šunga/ šuningǧa*	*anuningǧa*
Accusative	*uni*	*šuni*	*anuni*
Locative	*uningda/ eningda*	*šuningda*	*anuningda*
Ablative	*uningdin/eningdin*	*šuningdin*	*anuningdin*

Demonstrative pronouns may be contracted not only when combined among themselves, but with words to which they refer as well, when the latter follow the pronouns. Thus, the compound demonstrative pronoun *mana šu* 'this here' gave a new lexical unit *mäšä* 'this here place' in the combination with the word *jär* 'earth', 'place' (only the first syllable *mä* is left from *mana*, while *su* contributed *s*, and *jär* — only *ä* due to the usual reduction of the final *r*). *Mäšä* may assume affixes of spatial cases: *mäšägä* 'right here', *mäšädin* 'right from here', *mäšädä* 'right here'.

Full and contracted demonstrative pronouns may take on a non-palatalised variant of the comparative affix *-daq*, thus compound derivative pronouns *mundaq*, *undaq*, *šundaq*, *mušundaq*, *mašindaq*, *ašundaq*, *ošandaq* are formed, these may take on the plural affix and be declined. Their meaning correlates with the meaning of the corresponding demonstrative pronouns and includes an element of comparison: *mašandaq šlär* 'such things'.

When the affix *-ča/-čä* is joined to the demonstrative pronouns the latter change into derivatives with a delimitative-comparative shade of meaning: *suncä cong* 'that large', 'to that extent large'.

The reflexive pronoun. As a rule the reflexive pronoun *öz* in the substantival function takes on the corresponding possessive affixes: *özäm*, *özäng (özingiz)*, *özi*, *özimiz*, *özänglär*, *özliri*; to emphasize its meaning the reflexive pronoun in the possessive form may be preceded by the corresponding personal pronouns in the Common or Genitive case: *män (mening) özäm*, *sän (sening)*, *özing*, etc.

The attributive use of the pronoun *öz* in its Common case form emphasiyes the meaning of possessivity: *öz kitivim* 'my own book'. Various degrees of such an emphasis are also rendered by

the constructions like *özämning kitivim* and *mening özämning kitivim* 'my own book'.

The pronoun *öz* may be inflected, derivative affixes (*-diki* and *-niki*) may be joined to it, it may be combined with various particles: *u özi* 'he himself', *özämdiki kitap* 'the book that I myself keep', *özämmu?* 'and I myself?', *özängcu?* 'but you yourself?', *u özinikini qïldi* 'he did it in his own way, though'.

Interrogative pronouns. Interrogative pronouns may have the plural, the possessive forms as well as the declension paradigm, e.g. *kim?* 'who?', */u/ kiming?* 'who /is he/ to you?', *kimlar?* 'who? (pl.)', */ular/ kimliring?* 'who /are they/ to you?', *kimliring käldi?* 'who of yours' has come?', *qajsingda?* 'with whom of you?', *nädä?* 'where?', *nälärdä?* 'in what places?', *nälärdin?* 'from what places?', etc. The pronouns *qančä?*, *näččä?* may be combined with the affix of an ordinal numeral: *näccinci?* 'which in turn?'. The interrogative pronouns (even in the possessive form) may function as predicates, taking on predicative affixes: *Män kimingmän?* 'Who /am/ I to you?', *Sadir bolmaj nimämän?* 'If not Sadir, who /am/ I?'.

Possessive Pronouns. Personal, demonstrative, interrogative and some other classes of pronouns may take on the adjectival derivative affix *-ki* in their Genitive form, thus possessive pronouns are formed. Unlike in Uzbek, Tatar, Kazakh and other Turkic languages, the final *-ng* of the Genitive affix is preserved in such Uigur constructions, cf. Uig. *-ningki* and Uzb. *-niki* (< *-ningki*). At the same time the contracted form in *-niki* may in certain isolated cases be attested in Uigur as well: *meniki* 'belonging to me', *özämniki* 'belonging to me personally', *hämminiki* 'belonging to all', etc.

Possessive pronouns in *-ningki* commonly do not function as attributes; thus, one cannot say *meningki kitap*, because the affix *-ki* implies that the pronoun already refers to some noun. As a rule possessive pronouns are used in questions and corresponding answers, thus functioning as predicates, e.g. *Bu kitap kimningki?* 'Whose book is this?' — *Meningki* 'Mine' (i.e. the book belongs to me).

As substantivised nouns possessive pronouns may assume the plural affix and even be declined: *Bizningkilär käldilärmu?* 'Have ours' come?', *Bizningkigä keling* 'Come to us'.

Possessive pronouns may also be formed from the reflexive pronoun to which the corresponding possessivity affix has already been added, e.g. *Bu kitap özämningki* 'This book (is) the one belonging to me'. The possessive pronoun thus formed may be preceded by the corresponding personal pronoun in the Genitive, e.g. *Mening özämningki* 'belonging personally to me'. The possessive pronoun formed from the 3rd person reflexive pronoun appears as *öziniki*.

Possessive pronouns may be formed from the demonstrative pronouns singular and plural including contracted forms of the corresponding pronouns, e.g. *bu ningki* 'belonging to this', *mušuningki* 'belonging to this', *avuningki* 'belonging to that one', *mušularningki* 'belonging to these', etc. Possessive pronouns may also be formed from the interrogative pronouns (*kimningki?* 'whose?', 'belonging to whom?'; *nimeningki?* 'belonging to what?', *qajsiningki?* 'belonging to whom of them?'), as well as from the attributive pronouns (*hämminingki* 'belonging to all'). Possessive pronouns may also be formed from certain indefinite and negative pronouns (*heckimningki* 'belonging to nobody', *allikmningki* 'belonging to someone').

Attributive pronouns. The pronouns *bari*, *barcä*, *barlïq* 'all' go back to the word *bar* 'presence' (the meaning of *bari* may be interpreted as 'all which there is', while that of *baricä* as 'in the amount which is available'). Another attributive pronoun *hämmä* 'everything', 'everybody' goes back to the corresponding Farsi pronoun.

Most of the attributive pronouns are either derivative or compound, the stem or one of the components being of foreign origin (usually Farsi). Several of such pronouns are formed by the combination of the Farsi pronoun *här* 'every' with one of the Uigur interrogative pronouns: *härqajsi* 'each of them', *härqandaq* 'all and sundry', *harnimä* 'everything', etc.

When the attributive pronouns are used in their main function of an attribute, they do not receive case or possessivity affixes: *barcä oquğucilar* 'all the pupils'. Substantivised attributive pronouns may appear in the function of the modified noun. In this case the attribute is in the Genitive, while the modified pronoun receives the corresponding possessivity affix: *oquğucilarning hämmisi* 'all the pupils'. Substantivised attributive pronouns in the plural and with the corresponding possessivity affixes may be declined, e.g. *hämmiliri* 'all of them', *barciliriğa* 'to all of them', härqajsimizdin 'from every of us' etc. The pronoun *bäzi* 'some' which is of Arabic origin may take on the plural affix both accompanied by the possessivity affix and without it: *bäziliri* 'some of them', *bäzilär* 'some (pl.)'.

Negative pronouns. These pronouns are formed by means of the Farsi word *hec* 'none', which is combined as an attribute with various Uigur interrogative pronouns: *hecnimä* 'nothing', *hecqajsi* 'nohow', *heckim* 'nobody', etc. Negative pronouns may also be substantivised, receiving plural affixes, possessivity affixes and case formants.

Indefinite pronouns. Indefinite pronouns which express doubt are formed in two ways: by means of the particle *alla* which precedes some interrogative pronouns, and by means of the affix *-dur/-du* joined to interrogative pronouns: *alliqandaq* 'somewhat', *alliqancä* 'somehow', *kimdur* 'someone', *nimidur* 'something', *qacandu* 'some time', etc.

When the indefinite pronouns are declined the pronominal affix *-dur/-du* is joined after all the form-building affixes: *nimigidu* 'someway', *nimilärdu* 'some thing', *kimlärdindu* 'from some people', etc.

THE VERB

The verb has finite and non-finite forms. The non-finite forms include participles, gerundives, the nomen actionum in *-š* and verbal nouns (the latter include the formation in *-maq/-mäk* conventionally known as "the infinitive" which is attested

rather seldom). The finite forms include the Indicative, Conditional and Imperative-Optative moods and the corresponding tense forms. When a finite form is constructed mood and tense affixes precede those of the person and number; the personal pronoun accompanies the finite verb only when the emphasis is specifically on the doer. The verbal conjugation system is essentially identical with that of the noun conjugation: full personal formants of the verb are identical in conjugation with predicative affixes (cf. above). It is only verbal conjugation in the negative form which is different from the nominal conjugation: the former is morphological, by means of the affix of negation *-ma/-mä* (in certain cases it is reduced: *män jazdim* 'I wrote' — *män jazmidim* 'I did not write').

The Conditional and the Imperative-Optative moods receive contracted personal formants, while the Indicative tenses may have both full and contracted variants of these formants.

The Uigur verb is also characterised by the categories of the voice and aspect, as well as by four modes of action: negative, positive and the modes of possibility (Potentialis) and impossibility (Irrealis).

The root and affix are distinguished in the structure of the Uigur verb. The affixes are word- and form-building. The verbal stem is formed by means of a word-building affix (or affixes).

The root (resp. stem) of a verb functions as the positive form of the 2nd person singular Imperative. The negative stem (which is the negative form of the 2nd person singular Imperative) is formed from the positive one by adding the verbal negative affix *-ma/-mä*. The infinitive is formed from the positive stem by adding the affix *-maq/-mäk*; there is no negative infinitive in Uigur.

Apart from non-derivative and derivative verbs, compound and complex verbs are distinguished. Compound verbs are formed analytically, by combining a noun and a verb. The nominal components of such verbs include, apart from the nouns of the Turkic origin, Farsi words as well as Arabic masdars and participles.

The nominal part (i.e. the first component) may appear in the Common case form as well as in the form of one of the spatial cases: *qulaq sal-* 'to listen', *tilgä al-* 'to mention', *otqa tut-* 'to shell', 'to bomb'. In the latter situation the first component may have person and number inflections, e.g. *ästin cikar-* 'to forget', *esimdin cikti* 'I forgot'; *esingdin ciqarma* 'do not forget', *esimizdin cikiptu* 'we happened to forget', etc.

Complex verbs are formed synthetically; as a rule they consist of two verbal components — the first carrying the principal meaning is in the form of the gerundive in *-i(b)*, while the second is an auxiliary adding new shades of meaning to the principal one; the auxiliary is conjugated. New verbs with new meanings may be formed in this way, e.g. *elip (al- + ip) bar-* 'to lead', *setip (sat- + ip) al-* 'to buy', *säkräp ilgirilä-* 'to ride'.

There are many auxiliary verbs in Uigur, and only one dedefective verb *e-(ker-)* is not used independently, but takes part in the formation of various periphrastic, modal and temporal verbal forms. The following are some of the more widely used modal verbs: *al-* 'to take', *bär-* 'to give', *qoj-* 'to put', *qal-* 'to remain', *kät-* 'to leave', *bar-* 'to go', *käl-* 'to come', *cüš-* 'to descend', *cïq-* 'to raise', 'to come out', *baš̌la-* 'to begin', *otur-* 'to sit down', *jat-* 'to lie', *tur-* 'to get up', *žür-* 'to walk', *ävät-* 'to send', *taš̌la-* 'to throw', *kör-* 'to see', *bol-* 'to be', *bit-* 'to finish', *öt-* 'to pass', *jaz-* 'to lose way', *baq-* 'to look', *qara-* 'to look', etc. Four verbs of state: *tur-* 'to stand', *žür-* 'to walk', *otur-* 'to sit' and *jat-* 'to lie' take part in building tense forms, while others form various complex verbs as well as verbal combinations with independent and aspectual meanings.

When certain complex verbs of the synthetic type are formed, the components may be contracted with substantial phonetic changes, e.g. *jezip al-* > *jezival-* 'write down!', *urup ät-* > *uruvät-* 'beat!', *taš̌laj bär-* > *taš̌livä-* 'throw!', *bara bär-* > *barivä-* 'go!', *jaza bär-* > *jazivä-* 'write!', *äjtä bär-* > *äjtivä-* 'speak!', etc. In all types of complex verbs grammatical changes occur only in the final component.

In the negative mode of the complex verbs it is usually the second component which appears in the negative form, e.g. *salam bärmidi* 'he did not greet', *elip barmidi* 'he did not lead'; however in complex verbs with an aspectual meaning the first component may sometimes (though seldom) appear in the negative form, e.g. *körmäj qal-* 'not to notice'.

The modes of possibility and impossibility in Uigur are expressed in the same manner as in other Turkic languages (e.g. in Uzbek): by adding the positive or negative form of the auxiliary verb *al-* 'to take' to the gerundive in *-a* of the significative verb; in Uigur however, both components merge into a single verb with the corresponding phonetic modifications. In the form of the Irrealis the initial vowel of the auxiliary verb is lost, while in the Potentialis the auxiliary is contracted into the syllable *laj*, e.g. *jaza almajdu* > *jazalmajdu* 'he cannot write', *jaza alidu* > *jazalajdu* 'he can write'.

Non-derivative, derivative, compound and complex verbs are further subdivided into transitive and intransitive. Transitivity or intransitivity of the non-derivative verbs is completely determined by the verb's semantics. In the derivative and complex verbs voice affixes may serve as the indicators of transitivity or intransitivity; e.g. the causative affix added to an intransitive verb turns it into transitive, when added to a transitive verb this affix enhances its transitivity. Affixes of the mutual-reciprocal voice, the reflexive and passive voices serve as indicators of intransitivity. However the meaning of the verbs is important in these cases aswell.

According to their morphological structure the Uigur verbs are close to the Russian verbs of the imperfective aspect. The stem of the Uigur verb is neutral with respect to the category of aspect, as are the majority of the tense forms. Unlike the Russian perfective aspect verbs which have no present tense any Uigur verb may have the forms of the past, present and future. The problem of the category of aspect in the Turkic languages remains still unresolved. The meaning of only some Uigur non-derivative

verbs corresponds to the Russian perfective aspect. While in Russian prefixation and suffixation are the two main patterns of aspect formation, in Uigur aspectual forms are obtained by building complex verbs (the significative verb appears mainly in the form of the past gerundive, while the auxiliary verb which renders various shades of aspectual meanings is used in its conjugated forms). At the same time certain aspectual meanings in Uigur may be expressed through affixation, e.g. *küldür-* 'to evoke laughter', *küldürüvät-* 'to evoke sudden laughter' (the affix *-ät* goes back here to the auxiliary verb *ävät-* 'to send', 'to dispatch'). Aspectual meanings may be expressed by reduplicated verbs in the gerundival, participial or conjugated forms: *aldi qojdi* 'has put' (perfectivity), *bara-bara* 'having gone several times' (frequentative), *oqup-oqup* 'having read several times' (frequentative), etc.

Uigur complex verbs may express the meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects. This depends on a further addition to the complex verb of new modal verbs and tense forms, e.g. *elip kätti* 'he carried away', *elip ketäp edi* > *elip ketätti* 'he was carrying away'. In some cases Uigur complex verbs expressing aspectual meanings may become contracted, e.g. *urup ävätti* > *uruvätti* 'he struck', *ura bärdi* > *uruvädi* 'he was striking', *oqup jatidu* > *oquvatidu* 'he is reading', *oqup jatar edi* > *oquvatatti* 'he was reading', *kelip edi* > *kelivedi* 'he *jatar edi* > *oquvatatti* 'he was reading', *kelip edi* > *kelivedi* 'he used to come', *jezip aldi* > *jezivaldi* 'he has copied down', etc.

The Uigur auxiliary verbs (cf. p. 100) and various aspectual meanings to the main verb, whose meaning may thus appear as instantaneous, frequentative, inceptive, perfective, continuous, sudden, dynamic, directed, purposeful, cf. *icip qoj-* 'to take a drink', *ejtip qoj-* 'to babble out', *ağdurulup cüš-* 'to fall down', 'to stumble into', *žugurup cïq-* 'to run out', *oqup kör-* 'to try to read', *oqup bol-* 'to finish reading', *ölä jaz-* 'nearly to die', etc.

In most cases the significative verb carries the main meaning, while the auxiliary verb adds the corresponding aspectual modifications to it; however there are constructions in which the main meaning is expressed by the auxiliary verb, and the significative verb appears as a sort of modifier, e.g. *uc-* 'to fly', *kir-* 'to enter', *ucup kir-* 'to fly up' (*lit.* 'to enter flying'). Such a construction differs from ordinary complex verbs with additional aspectual shades of meaning in that words may be inserted between its components, e.g. *ucup öjgä kirdi* 'he flew into the house' (*lit:* 'flying, entered the house').

When the corresponding affixes are joined to the stem of the active voice the following voice forms are obtained: 1) mutual-reciprocal, 2) reflexive, 3) passive and 4) causative. As expressed by their names these voices represent: 1) the action performed together by the subjects helping one another; 2) the action proceeding from the subject and directed at the subject itself; 3) the action "represented from the point of view of the logical object"[27], and, finally, 4) the action performed by the subject under the influence of another subject. Uigur voice affixes may be added to one another, thus forming secondary and multiderivative verbs. Thus, the same verb may take on two causative affixes forming the secondary causative: *kör-* 'to see', *körsät-* 'to show', *körsättür-* 'to make show'; cf. also *körsütül-* 'to be shown' and *körsütüš* 'to help to show'. Since voice formation may be regarded as verb derivation from the verbs voice affixes will be described in the section of word derivation.

NON-FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB

The Gerundive. Apart from being used independently the gerundives may participate in the formation of certain tenses, participles and complex verbs. The following are the types of the gerundive found in Uigur.[28]

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27 N.K. Dmitriev, *Grammatika baškirskogo jazyka*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, p. 180.

28 The category of tense is not present in the gerundive; the terms "present" and "past" gerundive are used conventionally, following the tradition.

The present gerundive is formed by means of the affixes *-a/ä* for stems with the final consonant, and the affix *-j* for stems with the final vowel. At present this form of the gerundive occurs quite seldom. It occurs in reduplicated constructions like *bara-bara* expressing frequentative action, it then takes part in the formation of separate Indicative tenses, participles and complex verbs as their first component. Some gerundives, as *jaraša* (*jaraš-* 'to be suited') and *körä* (*kör-* 'to see'), moved to the class of participles. The negative form of this type of gerundive (*barmaj* 'not having gone', *jazmaj* 'not having written') has been preserved because it came into the class of the past gerundive.

The past gerundive is most widely used in modern Uigur. It is formed from the verbal stem by means of the affix *-p* and its variants *-ïp/-ip/-up/-üp*,[29] e.g. *bar-* 'to go' — *berip* 'having gone', *kör-* 'to see' — *körüp* 'having seen', *qara-* 'to look' — *qarap* 'having looked', etc.[30] When used independently the past gerundive expresses a single action which either precedes another action or occurs simultaneously; the tense of the action expressed by the gerundive depends on the predicate of the main clause, e.g. *Män öjgä qajtip, tamaq ictim* 'After coming home I had my dinner'. To express a frequentative action the gerundive may be reduplicated: *jezip jezip* 'having written many times'. The negative form of the past gerundive is identical with that of the present gerundive: *berip* 'having gone', *barmaj* 'not having gone'. However, as we shall see later the proper negative form of the past gerundive in *-map* takes part in the formation of a variety of the synthetic verbs. To express aspectual and other modal meanings the past gerundive may be combined with a gerundive of one of the static verbs, thus giving a double gerundive: *oqup žürüp* 'reading for a

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[29] The past gerundive affix *-p* plus the verbal affix *-la/-li* forms derivative adverbs when added to adverbs and numerals: *onlap* 'in tens', *jüzläp* 'in hundreds'.

[30] In the language of the classical Uigur poetry (as well as seldom in works of some modern poets) a variety of this gerundive may be attested formed by the affix *-ban/-ban*, e.g. *keliban* 'coming'.

long time'. In the combination with the 3rd person singular of the future tense of the verb *bol-* 'to become', 'to be' the gerundive expresses the modal meaning of possibility: *oqup boludu* 'possible to read'. To express the meanings of a decrease in the intensity of an action some past participles may take on the affix of the comparative degree *-raq/-räk* : *qïzartivraq* 'having caused to blush slightly'. Past gerundives of the verbs *qïl-* 'to do', *bol-* 'to become', 'to be', *ät-* 'to do', *de-* 'to speak' (*qïlip* > *qïp*, *bolup* > *bop; etip, däp*) function as connecting words in sentences; such gerundives have widely different meanings, e.g. *Seni körüj däp käldim* 'I came to meet you'; *šundaq qïlïp* 'in such a way', *az bop qaldi* 'little was left', *tolaj-tolaj däp qaldi* 'it will be full right now'.

The gerundive in *-ǧïli/-gili, -qïli/-kili* known as "the gerundive of purpose" is most widely used: *Šaxmat ojniǧïli kälduq* 'We came in order to play chess'. Sometimes this gerundive expresses temporal relations ('since'): *U kälgini bäš kün boldi* 'It is five days already since he arrived'. The alternation l ~ n often occurs in the formant of this type of gerundive (*-ǧïli* > *-ǧïni*).

The gerundive in *-ǧïli* combined with the conjugated form of the auxiliary verb *bol-* 'to become', 'to be' expresses various degrees of the possibility of the action to be fulfilled (or not to be fulfilled if the auxiliary verb is in the negative form) — cf. an identical construction with the gerundive in *-p*, e.g. *oquǧïli bolmajdu (oqup bolmajdu)* 'impossible to read'.

The participle in *-ǧac/-gäc* expresses an action performed immediately after another action: *Šähärgä qajtkac kördüm* 'I saw (this) after I returned to the town'. Unlike other Turkic languages, the Uigur gerundive of this type appears along with the gerundives in *-a* and *-p* in various complex verbs: *alǧac käldim* (*-elip käldim*) 'I have brought', *Hädämni joqliǧac käldim* 'I came to see my elder sister'.

The gerundive in *-ǧicä/-gicä, -qïcä/-kicä* historically goes back to the combination of the participle in *-ǧän* (resp. its variants) with the delimitative affix *-ca/-cä*. The gerundive formed by means of this compound affix expresses the idea of a limit in time: *käl-*

gicä 'till coming', *körgicä* 'till meeting' (lit. 'till the seeing occurs').

The gerundive in *-mastin* is equivalent to the negative form of the past participle: *jezip* 'having written' — *jazmaj* and *jazmastin* 'not having written'. The formant of this gerundive may be represented as the affix of the future suppositional participle in its negative form plus the Ablative affix.

Participles. The participle combines the features of the verb and adjective; it functions as an attribute and like the adjective it does not agree either in number or gender with the word it qualifies. As verbals the participles have distinct voice forms, they express temporal relations and are used in the positive and negative forms as well as in the Irrealis and Potentialis.

The most widely used participial form is the past participle in *-gan*. It may also function as the present participle depending on the context. According to its functional and semantic features this form may appear as the verbal noun, participle or as a tense form in the function of a predicate, e.g. *tünügün kälgän qïz* 'the girl which came yesterday', *män oquğan kitap* 'the book I read', *män oquğan* 'I read', *oquğïnim joq* 'I did not read' (*lit.* 'there was no my reading'), *angliğan anglimiğanğa ajtsun* 'let him who heard /will/ tell him who did not hear'.

The participle in *-ğan* of the static verb *tur-* 'to stand' gave a contracted form *-diğan* which functions as a complex affix. The present-future participle in *-diğan* goes back to a construction of the type *bar-a turğan* (the present gerundive of the significative verb plus the past participle of the verb *tur-* 'to stand') < *baradiğan* 'going', *jazidiğan* 'writing'. Depending on the context this participle may express the meaning of the future; it may also characterise the object it refers to as something necessary, worthy of attention, *kördiğan kino* 'the motion picture worth seeing', *baridiğan jär* 'a place nice to drop in', 'a place one should visit'. Assuming personal formants the participle functions as the predicate expressing an action habitually and many times performed in the past: *Män här jäkšänbä küni teatrğa baridiğanmän* 'Every Sunday I would come to the theatre'.

The present participle goes back to the combination of the present gerundive of a significative verb with the participle in *-ğan* from the verb *jat-* 'to lie' which gave the complex affix *-vatqan* as a result of contraction: *bara jat-qan* > *barivatqan* 'in the process of going'.

All these three types of participles may appear as both principal parts of sentence (subject and predicate) and secondary parts (attribute, object and adverbial modifier), assuming the corresponding grammatical formants in each case.

The participle in *-ar* is formed by means of the affixes *-r*, *-ar/-är*, *-ur/ür* directly from the verbal stem. As an attribute it is now used mainly in fixed combinations (cf., however, *kelär žil* 'next year', etc.). In the negative form *-r* alternates with *-s*: *jazar* 'who will write' — *jazmas* 'who will not write'. The participle in *-ar* takes part in the formation of one of the future tense forms: the positive and negative forms of this participle plus the word-building affix *-lïq/-lik* give adjectives with the meanings of sufficiency and insufficiency: *jetärlik pul* 'sufficient money', *jetärlik boldi* 'enough', *jetmäsligi mälüm* 'it is known not to be enough'. The combination of the positive and negative form of the participle in *-ar* from the same verb expresses the meanings 'immediately after', 'hardly', etc., e.g. *kirär-kirmäs* 'having hardly entered'. The addition of the affix *-lik* to a similar combination of the negative and positive forms of the same verb (sometimes the past gerundive is used instead of the positive form) gives a verbal noun with an abstract meaning: *pulimning jetär-jetmäsligi (jetip-jetmäsligi) mälüm ämäs* 'It is not known whether I have enough money or not'.

The participle in *-ğuci/-quci, -güci/-küci* occupies a special place. It has practically lost all verbal features having however retained voice forms and is to be regarded as the verbal noun: *jazğuci* 'he who writes', 'writer'; *oquğuci* 'he who reads', 'pupil'; thus in Modern Uigur this form may be considered as a participle only diachronically.

The nomen actionum in *-š*. The most widely used verbal form in Modern Uigur is the so-called name of action (no-

men actionum) in *-š*. The students of Kazakh call this form the indefinite-nominal form of the verb (in Kazakh — the form in *-u*).[31] It is formed by adding the affix *-s* to the stem of the verb; e.g. *al-* 'to take', *eliš* 'taking'; *jaz-* 'to write', *jezіš* 'writing'. The meaning of this form is not equivalent to the infinitive, it is rather a verbal name of action (comparable to the English gerund). Its exact meaning depends on the context and it is to be translated into Russian as either an infinitive, a name of action or a verbal noun (a tentative English equivalent may be the gerund); e.g. *saq-* 'to strike', *soquš* 'war'; *ur-* 'to beat', *uruš* 'beating', 'scuffle'; *oqu-* 'to read', *oquš* 'reading'; *ojla-* 'to think', *ojlaš* 'thinking'.

In the combination with the words *keräk* 'necessary', *lazim* 'necessary', *mümkin* 'possible' as well as with the postpositive *üčün* 'for', 'in order to' the name of action acquires the meaning of the infinitive, e.g. *jezіš keräk* 'necessary to write (*lit.* writing (is) necessary)', *oquš mümkin* 'necessary to read (*lit.* 'reading (is) necessary')', *beriš üčün* 'in order to go', *sizni körüškä käldim* 'I came to meet you', etc.

The examples show that the combination of a name of action with the words *keräk*, *lazim* adds the meaning of obligation to the whole construction, while the word *mümkin* imparts the meaning of the possibility or probability of an action.

The name of action in *-š*, like other verbal nouns, is not conjugated as the verb; it is declined as the noun with possessivity affixes being added if necessary; in the latter case the name of action acquires the category of person, e.g. *jezišim keräk* 'I have to write (*lit.* my writing (is) necessary')', *berišing mümkin* 'you can go (*lit.* 'your going (is) possible')', *uning keliši lazim* 'he is due to come (*lit.* 'his coming (is) due')'.

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31 "Sovremennyj kazaxskij jazyk, fonetika, morfologija", Alma-ata, 1962, pp. 353.

The name of action in *-š* is declined according to the general rules of the substantival declension.

The combination of the Lative of a name of action in *-š* and the auxiliary verb *bol-* 'to be' forms a construction expressing the possibility, admissibility (resp. impossibility, inadmissibility) of an action, e.g. *oquška boludu* 'possible to read', *oquška bolmajdu* 'impossible to read'.

FINITE FORMS OF THE VERB
THE IMPERATIVE-OPTATIVE MOOD

In Modern Uigur the Optative has only the form of the 1st person singular and plural, while the Imperative possesses the forms of the 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural. Since the meaning of the first person plural of the optative includes not only the element of volition but the element of stimulation as well, just as the 2nd and 3rd persons Imperative express volition, both moods are regarded here as one — Imperative-Optative.

The root (resp. stem) of the Turkic verb possesses an independent meaning and appears as a simple form of the 2nd person singular Imperative; the 1st person singular form of the Optative includes the affix *-j/-aj* (*jazaj* 'what if I write!'), the plural form includes *-jli/-ajli* (*jazajli* 'what if we write!'). The polite form of the 2nd person Imperative singular is formed by adding the affix *-ing* to the root (*jezing* 'write (you, one)'), the resulting form may further acquire the affix *-iz* (*jezingiz* 'write (you, many)'). The plural is built from the polite form of the singular by means of the affix *-lar* (*jezinglar*); the 3rd person is formed by means of the affix *-sun* (*jazsun* 'let him (her) write'). To emphasize the imperative element the 2nd person singular may take on the affix *-gīn/-qīn, -gin/-kin* which goes back to the affix *-gīl* (preserved with its variants in Modern Uzbek), the affix is unaccented: *jazgīn* 'you write!', *kälgin* 'you come!'. To impart the meaning of request the particle *-a/-ä* is added to the affix *-gīn*: *jazgīna* 'write, please', *söliginä* 'speak, will you?'. In order to express command with additional meanings of reproach, discontent or desire one might use the conditional form of the 2nd person singular Condi-

tional plus the affix *-cu*: *jazsangcu* 'do write!', *kätsängcu* 'go away, after all'. In order to render further elements of request the affix *-cu* may be added to the form of the 3rd person Imperative as well: *jazsuncu* 'let him write, please'. The polite form of the second person may be formed from the 3rd person construction plus the plural affix as *jaz + sun + lar* to be contracted into *jazsila* 'write', *oltursila* 'sit down'. The following is the conjugation paradigm for the Optative-Imperative mood:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jazaj*	*jazajli*
2nd pers.	*jaz*	
	jezing	*jezinglar*
	jezingiz	
	jazgïn	
3rd pers.	*jazsun*	*jazsunlar*

The meaning of volition may also be expressed syntactically — by means of the name of action in *-ğu* plus the conjugated forms of the verb *käl-* 'to come': *bargum käldi* 'I wanted to go', *jazğum kelidu* 'I want to write', *jazğusi kälmäjdu* 'he does not want to write'.

The addition of a special affix *-ğur/-gür* expresses both well- and ill-wishing (depending on the meaning of the verb): *ölgür* 'that you should die-', *ölmigür* 'long years of life to you!' Such formulas are wide spread in Modern Uigur. The combination of the 1st person Optative-Imperative with the verb *de-* 'to speak' conveys the meaning of intent to carry out the action expressed by the Optative-Imperative form: *jazaj dājmän* 'I am going to write'.

The meaning of intent may also be expressed by means of the affix *-maqci/-mäkci*: *Män bügün Bedžingä xät jazmaqcimän* 'I am going to write a letter to Peking today'; *U kälmäkci boldimu* 'Has he definitely decided to come?'.

The Indicative Mood

Every temporal sphere is represented in Uigur by several tense forms which express various shades of each general temporal meaning (the past is the most diversified tense). According to their formal composition the tense forms are distinguished into simple and complex. The complex forms include auxiliary verbs.

The past definite (or categoric) tense is formed directly from the verbal stem by means of the affix *-di* and the corresponding short personal formants. This tense form expresses an action which is definitely known to have taken place in the past: *män jazdim* 'I wrote'. The past categoric tense has the following conjugation paradigm:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers	*jazdim*	*jazduq*
2nd pers	*jazding*	*jazdinglar*
	jazdingiz	
	jazdila[32]	
3rd pers	*jazdi*	*jazdi*

The negative form of the past categoric tense is formed, correspondingly, from the negative stem. The interrogative form is built by means of the particle *-mu* which is joined to the tense form as a whole and is written together: *jazdingmu?* 'Did you write?'. The Potentialis and Irrealis are formed from the present gerundive by means of the auxiliary verb *al-* 'to take' the stem of which undergoes reduction: *jazalidim* 'I could write' - *jazalmidim* 'I could not write'.

The past indefinite (or participial, perfect) tense is formed from the past participle in *-ğan* with the corresponding phonetic variants. Unlike other Turkic languages this tense form is usually used without personal formants in Uigur. It is necessarily accompanied by the subject expressed by either a personal pronoun or a noun. Thus instead of an expected *män jazğanmän* the form would be *män jazğan* 'I wrote'. This form of the past tense expresses a meaning of indefiniteness: *bu kitapni män oquğan* 'I have once read that book'.

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[32] The forms of the type of *jazdingiz* and *jazdila* are regarded as polite forms of address to one person.

The negative form of the past indefinite tense may be built not only by adding the affix *-ma/-mä* which is common to all verbal forms, but also by means of special negative particles *ämäs* and *joq* which characterise nominal conjugation: *män jazmiğan - män jazğan ämäs, mening jazğïnim joq* 'I have not written'. The latter two variants convey the meanning of a more decisive, categoric negation. It should also be pointed out that the negative form of the type of *mening jazğïnim joq* is paralleled by the analogous positive form expressing the meaning of a more categoric assertion about an action performed in an indefinite past: *jazğïnim bar* 'Once I did write'.

The interrogative form as well as the Potentialis and Irrealis are built according to the general pattern.

The past suppositional tense is built from the past participle in *-ğan* with the corresponding phonetic variants plus the contracted form of the affix *dur-di* and personal affixes. This form of the past tense expresses the suppositional or probable character of an action. The conjugation paradigm of this tense form is as follows:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jazğandimän*	*jazğandimiz*
2nd pers.	*jazğansän*	*jazğansilar*
	jazğansiz	
3rd pers.	*jazğandu*	*jazğandu*

The negative form is built from the negative stem, the interrogative form is constructed by means of the interrogative particle *-mu*. Both forms are conjugated according to the general rules. The forms of the Irrealis and Potentialis practically do not exist.

The Pluperfect tense is formed from the same participial stem by means of the defective verb *e-* in the form of the past definite which takes on the corresponding personal formants: *jazğan edim* 'I wrote a long time ago'. The *e-* sound (i.e. the stem of the defective verb) is usually lost in the literary language, especially in poetry, e.g. *jazğandim*.

The pluperfect has three forms in the negative mode:

1) *jazmiğan edim*, 2) *jazğan ämäs edim*, 3) *jazğïnim joq edi*. The interrogative form is built according to the general pattern. The auxiliary verb is joined to the first, significative component in the forms of the Potentialis and Irrealis: *jazaliğan edim, jazalmiğan edim*. The pluperfect is used to show that either the action took place a long time ago or it took place before another action if two actions are described.

The participle in *-ğan* is used as the basis for three modal forms. One of these is built by means of the affix *-du* (> *tur* to stand). It describes an action in the past as uncertain or problematical: *jazğandumän* 'I might have written'. Two other modal forms are built with the help of the participles in *-ğan* and *-miš* of the defective verb *e-* (more precisely, its participial forms): the form *emiš* helps to build a modal construction whose meaning characterizes information about an action as incredible; the form *ekän* forms a modal construction which expresses result or the fact that an action has been learned about from another source. In these forms the defective verb is often reduced so that the resulting form becomes contracted: *jazğan emišmän* > *jazğanmišmän* 'as if I wrote' and *jazğan ekänmän* 'I turned out to have written'.

The Past narrative (subjective) tense is formed by means of the auxiliary verb *tur-* 'to stand' contracted into the affix *-ti*, the latter plus its corresponding personal affixes is added to the conjugated verb which is in the form of the past gerundive: *jeziptimän* 'I appeared to have written'. The affix *-ti* is dropped in the 2nd person singular and plural. The conjugation paradigm is as follows:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jeziptimän*	*jeziptimiz*
2nd pers.	*jezipsän*	
	jezipsiz	*jezipsilär*
	jeziptila	
3rd pers.	*jeziptu*	*jeziptu*

This tense form expresses an action which took place in

the past, was forgotten and then suddenly recalled by the narrator.

The past narrative plus *emiš* and *ekän* (reduced into *-miš* and *-kän*) gives modal forms of the same tense: *jeziptimišmän* 'I seem to have written (I doubt the fact or don't remember it)'; *jeziptikänmän* 'It turned out that I did write it'.

The negative past narrative is formed according to the general pattern, while the Potentialis and Irrealis are not used.

The Preterite is formed from the gerundive in *-i(p)* of the significative verb by means of the past definite form of the defective verb *e-* with the corresponding personal affixes, *-p -v* in the gerundival affix: *jezividim;* the negative form is *jazmividim.*

This tense form expresses an action which took place in the recent past; the meaning includes a shade of regret. The Potentialis and Irrealis are formed according to the general rules. The conjugation paradigm is as follows:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jezividim*	*jezividuq*
2nd pers.	*jezividing*	*jezividinglar*
	jezividingiz	
3rd pers.	*jezividi*	*jezividi*

The Past frequentative iterative tense (the indefinite imperfect) is formed from the future participle with the help of the defective verb *e-* in the form of the past definite, both forms merge into one contracted: *alar edim* > *alattim* 'I used to take'. The negative form is *almas edim* > *almajttim* > *almattim.* The Potentialis is *alalattim*; the Irrealis is *alalmajttim.*

The Past punctative tense is formed by means of two auxiliary verbs: the past definite of the defective verb *e-* and the past participle in *-ğan* or present participle in *-ar* of the auxiliary verb *jat-* 'to lie'; the latter precedes the verb *e-* within the tense form. The basis of this tense form is the gerundive in *-(i)p.* Both variants are contracted similarly to the past iterative.

The past punctative expresses an action which was being

performed at the moment of another action (cf. the Engl. Past Continuous), e.g. *jezip jatar edim* > *jezivatattim* 'I was writing (while another action occurred)', *jezip jatqan edim* > *jezivatqan edim* > *jezivatqandim.* The interrogative and negative forms are built according to the general rules, the Potentialis and Irrealis do not exist.

The Past frequentative tense is formed on the basis of the present participle in *-diğan* which, in its turn, is built from the present gerundive in *-a*; full personal formants are employed in the conjugation.

This tense form expresses an action which occurred frequentatively or habitually in the past. The meaning of this form differs from that of the past frequentative iterative in that the former is less concrete, e.g. *Män mäktäptä cegimda öjgä här häptä xät jezidiğanman* 'When I went to school I wrote letters home every week'. All modes of this tense form are built according to the general pattern: *jezidiğanmän, jazmajdiğanmän, jezilajdiganmän, jazilmajdiganmän, jezidiganmanmu?*

The combination of this tense form with the past definite of the defective verb *e-* gives an even more complicated form which renders the same meaning as the past frequentative with an additional meaning of narration; in conditional clauses this form acquires the meaning of consent, agreement: *jezidiğan edim* 'at that time I used to write (or would write)', *Män uni körsäm ejtidiğan edim* 'If I saw him I would say'.

The combination of the past frequentative with the word *ekän* expresses the meaning of regret: *jezdiğan ekänmän* 'I should have written'. Another modal construction is formed by combining the present participle in *-diğan* with the conjugated form of the verb *bol-* 'to become';[33] this construction expresses the deter-

[33] A similar modal form is obtained by combining the past participle in *-ğan* and the conjugated form of the same auxiliary verb; the resulting form expresses the meaning 'to pretend to perform the action expressed by the participle', or it may express certain contempt: *jazğan boldum* 'I pretended to be writing' or 'I have written some stuff here'.

mination to carry out the action denoted by the participle: *jezdiğan boldum* 'I decided to write'.

Several tense forms express the present in Modern Uigur. These forms are most commonly built from the gerundive in *-p* by means of various auxiliary verbs which are usually static. The forms of the verb *jat-* 'to lie' are contracted into the affix *-vat*, this affix gives the most widely used paradigm, e.g. *jezip jetip tururmän* > *jezip jetiptimän* > *jezivatimän* 'I am writing'. The full paradigm is as follows:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jezivatimän*	*jezivatimiz*
2nd pers.	*jezivatisän*	*jezivatisilär*
	jezivatisiz	
3rd pers.	*jezivatidu*	*jezivatidu*

In the 2nd and 3rd person interrogative of this present tense form the interrogative particle is incorporated within the word, preceding the personal formant; at the same time the particle is reduced (*mu* > *m*): *jezivatamsän?* 'Are you writing?', *jezivatamdu?* 'Is he writing?' (but *jezivatamänmu?* 'Am I writing?'). The negative form is built according to the general rules; the Potentialis and Irrealis are non-existent.

The following is the paradigm of another present tense form in Uigur:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jezivatiptimän*	*jezivatipmiz*
2nd pers.	*jezivatipsän*	*jezivatipsänlär*
	jezivatipsiz	
3rd pers.	*jezivatiptu*	*jezivatiptu*

The other three static verbs built three more present tense forms which express an action taking place at the present moment. This meaning is influenced by the meaning of the auxiliary verbs; these present tense forms are not contracted, e.g. *jezip turupsän* 'you are writing' (perhaps even standing in the street); *jezip žürüpsän* 'you write' — this form may have the meaning of a continuous, regular action, in keeping with the meaning of the verb *žür-* (you write periodically, regularly, e.g. for a newspaper); finally, *jezip olturupsän* 'you are writing sitting down'. In the above-mentioned present tense forms the negative affix is joined to the significative verb appearing as the gerundive in *-p*. The Potentialis and Irrealis practically do not exist. The addition of *emiš* > *-miš* gives a modal form with the meaning of unreality, doubt: *jezivatimänmiš* 'as if I am writing'.

The literary form of the present is now seldom used. This form is built from the name of action in *-maq* in the Locative; the paradigm uses the full variants of personal formants: *jazmaqtamän* 'I am writing'. However, personal formants are often omitted in this tense form, e.g. *män jazmaqta* 'I am writing', *sän jazmaqta* 'you are writing', etc. The negative form as well as the Potentialis and Irrealis are not used. The 1st and 2nd person forms of both numbers of the present tense in *-maqta* are attested only very seldom.

The Present-future tense[34] is formed from the gerundive in *-a*; the paradigm utilizes full personal formants:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jazimän*	*jazimiz*
2nd pers.	*jazisän*	*jazisilär*
	jazisiz	*jazidila*
3rd pers.	*jazidu*	*jazidu*

The negative form as well as the Potentialis and Irrealis are built according to the general pattern.

The Future suppositional tense is formed from the future participle in *-ar* by means of full personal affixes, in

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[34] Such is the traditional name of this tense form; foreign students of Uigur often call it "the future tense" according to the meaning of this form in Modern Uigur: it has merged with the form in *-ar* which underwent phonetic changes (*jazarman* > *jazimän*) and expresses an action due to take place in the future.

the 3rd person the personal formant is absent. The conjugation paradigm is as follows:

	Singular	*Plural*
1st pers.	*jazarmän*	*jazarmiz*
2nd pers.	*jazarsän*	*jazarsilär*
	jazarsiz	
3rd pers.	*jazar*	*jazar*

This tense form referred to by the Uigur grammarians as "Future II" expresses an action which the subject plans to perform in the future. This tense form is often attested in the literary language with the labial variant of the affix irrespective of the stem vocalism: *jazurmän, jazursän,* etc. The negative form is built by adding the affix *-mas/-mäs* to the verbal stem.

The addition of *ekän* and *emiš* > *-miš* to this form yields modal constructions expressing obligation with a shade of result; the form *jazar ekänmän* 'indeed, I have to write' includes the meaning of consent while the form *jazarmišmän* includes elements of contempt and doubt whether the action which is to be carried out on the orders of another person is correct.

The so-called Intentionalis is close to the group of future tenses in its meaning. This form is built from the name of action in *-maq* plus the affix *-ci*. The conjugation paradigm uses full personal formants (*män jazmaqcimän* 'I am going to write'); the 3rd person form has no personal affix. The negative meaning is rendered by adding the nominal negation *ämäs* to the form of the Intentionalis: *jazmaqci ämäsmän*. Intention may be referred to the past by adding the defective verb *e-* in the past definite to the Intentionalis: *jazmaqci ämäs edim* 'I was not going to write then', *jazmaqci edim* 'I was going to write then'. By adding any inflected form of the verb *bol-* 'to become' to the stem of the Intentionalis the meaning of firm resolution may be expressed: *jazmaqci boldum* 'I decided to write'.

The Conditional Mood

The conditional mood has the present-future and past tenses. The present-future is formed by means of the affix *-sa* and is conjugated by means of the short personal formants, the 3rd person receives no personal affix. The 2nd person plural has the formant *-nglar* and not *-ngiz* as in other Turkic languages, e.g. *jazsanglar* 'if you write'. The negative and interrogative forms as well as the Potentialis and Irrealis are built according to the general pattern. The conditional clause may often be introduced by the Farsi conjunction *ägär* 'if': *ägär jazsam* 'if I write'.

The past conditional is formed by means of the defective verb *e-* in the past definite, the personal affixes being joined to the stem of the Conditional mood: *jazsam edi* 'if I wrote'; depending on the context this form may also express unreal condition: 'if I had written'. The negative affix is joined to the first component: *jazmisam edi* 'if I had not written', 'if I did not write'.

The conditional mood forms of the auxiliary verb *bol-* 'to become' added to different participial forms of the significative verb yield different conditional modalities; thus, in the past: *jazǧan bolsam* 'if I wrote', *jazǧan bolsam edi* 'if I had written'; in the present: *jezivatqan bolsam* 'if I am writing', *jezivatqan bolsam edi* 'if I had been writing', *jezidiǧan bolsang* 'should you write', *jezidiǧan bolsang edi* 'if you were going to write'.

The meaning of obligation is expressed syntactically by the combination of the modal words *keräk* 'necessary', *lazim* 'necessary' with the name of action in *-iš* of the significative verb. The corresponding possessivity affixes are added to the name of action: *jezišim keräk* 'I have to write'. The negative meaning is expressed by adding the nominal negation *ämäs* after the entire construction: *jezišing keräk ämäs* 'you do not have to write'.

CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIVE WORDS

The class of coordinative conjunctions includes copulative conjunctions *vä* 'and', *häm* 'and', *dä* 'and', 'also', 'as well',

and *hämdä* 'and'; adversative conjunctions *amma* 'but', *lekin* 'however', 'but', *päqat* 'but', *biraq* 'however', 'but', *bälki* 'may be', *jalğuz* 'only'; distributive conjunctions *ja* 'or', *jaki* 'or', *bäzän* 'sometimes'; the distributive-enumerative conjunction *nä ... nä* 'neither ... nor'.

The class of subordinative conjunctions includes the indicative conjunction *ki* which is now used very seldom; it also contains the conjunctions *cunki, suning ücün, sunglašqa* which express relations of cause and purpose; the conjunctions *ägär, ägärdä* and *madämki* express conditional relations. All subordinative conjunctions except *šuning ücün* and *šunglašqa* (as well as most coordinative conjunctions) are of Farsi origin.

The class of conjunctive words should also include *däp, degän* (formally the gerundive and participle from the verb *de-* 'to speak'); they connect various types of subordinate clauses with the main clause.

PARTICLES

The class of particles includes the following elements: the interrogative particles *-mu/-ma* and *-cu* which occur very often, the particle *-la* whose meanings are manifold, the main being that of delimitation, the emphatic particle *-ğu*, the delimitative particles *-ğïna/-qïna, -ginä/-kinä* and *-aq*, as well as the particle *-a* which expresses address and request. The particle *-la* has not been registered in other Turkic languages. The particle *-za* which has also not been attested in other Turkic languages combines with personal pronouns and expresses the meaning of reproach: *seningcä üzä barsun, män barmaj* 'so you think that he should come up and I should not'. All these particles, with the exception of the particle *aq* are spelt jointly with the word; the particle *aq* is spelt through the hyphen. The following are some of the examples illustrating the use of particles: *Bu kim: sänmu?* 'Who is that, you?'; *Bügün barmajmiz, ätigäncu?* 'We shan't go today, and tomorrow?'; *Bir özila qaldi* 'He found himself quite alone'; *Icipla qojdum* 'I drank it at once'; *Mängu kelimän, sängu?*

'As to me, I shall come, but will you?'; *joqqïna bir säväpni bana qïlïp...* 'taking excuse in an insignificant pretext...', etc.

WORD DERIVATION

The chapter on vocabulary deals extensively with the problems of derivative, compound, complex and reduplicated words, therefore the present chapter will only contain a short list of derivative affixes (for all the parts of speech) illustrated by the corresponding examples.[35] Such affixes of Farsi origin as *-päz; -saz; -kär/-kar; -vän, -käš*, etc. which form a structural part of the borrowings from Farsi were included in the list only by tradition. It is only some of them (*-päz, -käš*) that take part in the derivation of new words from the Uigur stems (in school manuals all the Farsi affixes are presented as actually productive).

The following affixes which go back to certain significative Farsi words are productive in Modern Uigur: *xanä* 'house', 'dwelling', *namä* 'letter', *šunas* (a participle from the Farsi verb *šunaxtän* 'to know'), etc. These word affixes help to derive new words both from Uigur and borrowed stems (of Russian and Chinese origin). Thus, Uigur stems gave the words *uiğuršunas* 'specialist in Uigur', *türkšunas* 'Turkologist', *basmixanä* 'printing house', *ašxanä* 'canteen'; the Russian borrowings gave *konsulxanä* 'consulate', *poctixanä* 'post-office'.

Derivation of new words, both from nominal and verbal stems, is wide spread in Uigur. It should be pointed out that Uigur derivative affixes are poorly differentiated according to the parts of speech. Quite often the same affixes may form both substantives and adjectives. An important role is played by the meaning of the stem: the affix *-lïq* produces the word *aqlïq* 'whiteness' from the word *aq* 'white', but when added to *at* 'horse' it

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35 The list does not include such suffixes as *-ist, -izm*, or prefixes of the type of *a-, anti-* attested in borrowings from Russian.

gives *atlïq* 'having a horse', 'equine', 'equestrian', etc. Derivative affixes may be joined to one another giving new words with new meanings, e.g. *köz* 'eye', *közsiz* 'eyeless', 'blind', *közsizlik* 'blindness' where a nominal stem gave an abstract substantive via an intermediary adjective.

There are many words in Uigur which may be regarded as derivative only historically, while from the point of view of the modern language they are indivisible; e.g. *oğaq* 'sickle', *tağaq* 'comb', *jataq* 'bed', *tutqa* 'handle', *calğa* 'scythe', etc. The affixes *-ğaq, -aq, -qaq, -ğa,* etc. are not productive at present and seldom take part in word-building processes; therefore these and similar words cannot be regarded as productive from the point of view of the modern language in spite of the fact that their stems are widely used. The present list includes such affixes only by tradition.

The following is the list of affixes (when an affix exists in several variants one or two non-labialised variants with the initial voiced are given).

-a/-ä — nominal verbs are formed by means of this affix: *qan* 'blood' — *qana-* 'to bleed'; *boš* 'empty' — *boša-* 'to empty'.

-av — an affix which forms collective numerals: *bir* 'one' — *birav* 'one piece'.

-aj/-äj — derives verbs from substantives and adjectives: *käng* 'wide' — *kengäj-* 'to widen'; *küc* 'strength' — *kücäj-* 'to strengthen'.

-aq — is almost unproductive, forms adjectives: *qal-* 'to stay' — *qalaq* 'backward'.

-anä — an affix of Farsi origin which derives adjectives and adverbs from Arabic and Farsi substantives: *qähriman* 'hero' — *qährimananä* 'heroic', 'heroically'; *dust* 'friend' — *dustanä* 'friendly', 'in a friendly manner'.

-ar/-är I — is the affix of the Future Participle: *käl-* 'to come' — *kelär* 'will come'. This participle may take on the affix *-lïq/-lik* giving an adjective meaning 'worthy of being executed' (what is to be executed is determined by the meaning of the verb), e.g. *oqurluq* 'worthy to read'.

-ar/-r II — derives verbs from adjectives: *aq* 'white' — *aqar-* 'to become white'; *kök* 'blue' — *kökär-* 'to turn blue'; *qïsqa* 'short' — *qïsqar-* 'to become short'.

-än — an affix of Arabic origin; derives adverbs from Arabic substantives: *qïsim* 'part' — *qïsmän* 'in part'; *häqïqät* 'truth' — *häqïqätän* 'truly', 'in fact'.

-vaz — an affix of Farsi origin, almost unproductive (goes back to the corresponding participle meaning 'playing'); derives the name of action from the Farsi borrowings: *dar* 'rope' — *darvaz* 'rope dancer', *käptär* 'pigeon' — *käptärvaz* 'pigeon lover'. At present the affix is attested mostly within historically derivative words whose stems continue to be used independently.

-vatqan — is a compound affix originating from the verbal stem *jat-* 'to lie' + the affix of the past participle *-ğan/-qan*; derives present participles: *käl-* 'to come' — *kelivatqan* 'going at this very moment'.

-vän — is an affix of Farsi origin; seldom attested in new formations; derives a name of action meaning 'tending' from Farsi substantives: *baq* 'garden' — *bağvän* 'horticulturist'; *saraj* 'inn' — *sarajvän* 'inn-keeper'.

-vij — cf.

-gä/kä — derives nouns from verbs: *kül-* 'to laugh' — *külkä* 'laughter'; *süpür-* 'to sweep' — *süpürgä* 'broom'.

-gär — is an almost unproductive affix of Farsi origin; attested mostly within now indivisible words formed from Arabic and Farsi nouns which may be used independently, e.g. *soda* 'trade' — *sodigär* 'trader'; *kimja* 'chemistry' — *kimjagär* 'chemist'. The addition of the affix *-lik* to *-gär* produces the name of a trade or profession: *sodigärlik* 'the pursuit or profession of a trader'.

-gärcilik — is a compound affix made up of the above-mentioned Farsi affix *-gär* and the Uigur affixes *-ci* and *-lik*. The addition of *-gärcilik* derives names of abstract qualities from Arabic and Farsi substantives and adjectives: *ädäm* 'man' — *adämgarcilik* 'humaneness'.

-ğaz/-qaz — a phonetic variant of the affix of the causative voice *-quz/-quz*.

-ğaq/-qaq — derives verbal adjectives denoting a quality of a person or object: *qorq-* 'to fear' — *qorqğaq* > *qorqaq* 'timorous', 'cowardly'; *tiriš-* 'to try' — *tirišqaq* 'diligent'; *jepiš-* 'to stick' — *jepišqaq* 'sticky'. The addition of the affix *-lïq* produces substantives denoting an abstract quality: *jepišqaqlïq* 'stickiness'. The compound affix *-cilïq* may be added to the nouns in *-ğaq/-qaq* deriving the names of states: *qurğaq* 'dry' — *qurğaqcilik* 'drought'.

-ğan/-gän — derives a partciple (verbal noun) from the stems of all voices: *oqï-* 'to read' — *oqïğan* 'educated', 'someone who read or studied'; *käl-* 'to come' — *kälgän* 'one who came'; *oqut-* 'to teach' — *oqutqan* 'one who taught'. The addition of the suffix *-lïq* gives a verbal noun with an abstract meaning of state: *oqïğanlïq* 'educatedness'.

-ğar/-qar —an affix of nominal verb formation: *baš* 'head' — *bašqar-* 'to rule'; *su* 'water' — *suğar-* 'to water', 'to irrigate'.

-qï/-ğï, -gi/-ki — derives adjectives from temporal adverbs and certain substantives: *tünügün* 'yesterday' — *tünügünki* 'yesterday (adj.)'; *küz* 'autumn' — *küzgi* 'autumnal'. This formant combined with the Locative affix gives an affix of place *-digi*.

-ğïn/-qïn — derives verbal nouns: *jan-* 'to burn' — *janğïn* 'fire'; *sür-* 'to drag' — *sürgün* 'exile'; *qac-* 'to run' — *qacqun* 'runaway'.

-ğlïq — derives verbal adjectives denoting a feature related to the state expressed by the verbal stem: *as-* 'to hang' — *esïğlïq* 'suspended'.

-ğu — one of the old affixes used to derive names of action, these are regarded as verbal nouns in the modern language: *tur-* 'to stand' — *turğu* 'position', 'stand'. A noun in *-ğu* in the combination with the corresponding possessivity affix and an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *käl-* 'to come' forms a construction with a meaning of desire: *oxla-* 'to sleep' — *oxlağum kelidu* 'I want to sleep'. The same name in *-ğu* plus a possessivity affix and the words *bar* 'there is' or *joq* 'there is no' forms a construction of intent in the present-future (in the positive or

negative form respectively): *jaz-* 'to write' - *jazgum bar* 'I an going to write', 'I will write'. The complex affix (< *-ğu* + *-ci*) forms verbal nouns with the meaning of doer: *jazguci* 'writer'.

quz/-ğuz — an affix of the causative voice: *mang-* 'to leave', 'to go' — *mangğuz-* 'to make go'; *jat-* 'to lie' — *jatquz-* 'to lay'; *jä-* 'to eat' — *jegüz* 'to feed'.

-ğur/-qur I — a compound affix (< *-ğu* + *-r*) used to derive verbal adjectives with a meaning of ability to perform an action: *al-* 'to take' — *alğur* 'taking'; *öt-* 'to pass', 'to be sharp' — *ötkür* 'sharp'; *tap-* 'to find' - *tapqur* 'quick', 'witty', 'resourceful'.

-ğur/-qur II — a compound affix (< *-ğu* + *-r*) historically used to derive the forms of well or ill-wishing (depending on the meaning of the stem): *öl-* 'to die' — *olgür* 'that you should die!'; *qur-* 'to dry' — *qurğur* 'that you should wither away!'; *ölmä-* 'not to die' — *ölmigür* 'live long'.

-ğuc/-quc — a compound affix (*-ğu* + *-c*) deriving substantives with a meaning of instrument: *siz-* 'to draw' — *sizğuc* 'rule'; *süz-* 'to filter' — *süzgüc* 'filter'; *körsät-* 'to indicate' — *körsätküc* 'indicator'.

-ğuci — cf. *-ğu*.

-da/-dä — a phonetic variant of the verb forming affix *-la* (cf. *-la/-lä*).

-dan — an affix of Farsi origin; used to derive from substantives the name of a receptacle for the matter denoted by the stem: *sija* 'ink' — *sijadan* 'ink-pot'.

-dar — an affix of Farsi origin; used to derive from substantives the name of a person or object characterised by the quality or object denoted by the stem: *carva* 'cattle' — *carvidar* 'cattle-breeder'; *äjp* 'guilt' — *äjpdar* 'a guilty person'; *jara* 'wound' — *jaridar* 'a wounded person'; *bajraq* 'banner' — *bajraqdar* 'standard bearer'.

-daš — one of the oldest compound affixes (< the Locative affix + the word *eš* 'companion', 'comrade'); derives the name of person on the basis of his or her community with someone: *jol* 'road' — *joldaš* 'companion', 'comrade'; *qerin* 'womb' — *qerindaš* 'relative' (*lit.* 'of one womb').

-diğan — an affix used to form the future participle, e.g. *jaz-* 'to write' — *jazdiğan* 'due to be written'.

-digi/-diki — an affix consisting of the Locative formant and an adjectival affix; derives adjectives denoting location from substantives, numerals and pronouns: *kocä* 'street' — *kocidiki* 'being in the street'; *män* 'I' — *mändiki* 'at my place'; *qïrïq* 'forty' — *qïrïqtiki* 'forty-year old'.

-dur/-tur — an affix of the causative voice: *al-* 'to take' — *aldur* 'to order'; *käl-* 'to come' — *kältür-* 'to bring'.

-zar — an affix of Farsi origin; derives the name of a place which abounds in the plants from which the name is derived: *gül* 'rose', 'flower' — *gülzar* 'rosary', 'flower-bed', 'field full of flowers'; *bedä* 'clover' — *bedizar* 'clover field'. The words of this type may take on the affix *-lïq* without changing the original meaning: *bedizarlïq* 'clover field'.

-ïq/-ik — derives verbs from nouns: *jol* 'road' — *jolluq-* 'to meet'; *käc* 'late' — *kecik-* 'to be late'; *bir* 'one' — *birik* 'to unite'.

-ij — an affix of the Arabic origin; derives relative adjectives from Farsi, Arabic and seldom Russian words. If the stem ends in a vowel, the bilabial *v* appears before the affix. If the stem ends in *-t*, the latter is dropped when the adjective is built, e.g. *ilm* 'science' — *ilmij* 'scientific'; *tärbijä* 'education' — *tärbijivij* 'educated'; *sijasät* 'politics' — *sijasij* 'political'; *idija* 'idea' — *idijivij* 'faithful to the idea'; *partijä* 'party' — *partijivij* 'party' (adj.).

-q/-k — derives verbal nouns and adjectives: *kör* 'to see' — *körük* 'inspection'; *öl-* 'to die' — *ölük* 'dead', 'corpse'; *tilä-* 'to ask', 'to wish' — *tiläk* 'request', 'wish'.

-kar — originally a Farsi word meaning 'business' which became an affix; derives the names of persons from Farsi and Arabic words which denote an act or occupation: *guna* 'sin' — *gunakar* 'sinner', 'a guilty person'; *bina* 'building' — *binakar* 'builder'.

-käš- an affix of Farsi origin; derives the name of an occupation, trade or pursuit from substantives; *tangzä* 'stall' — *tangzikäš* 'peddler', 'petty trader'; *harva* 'cart' — *harvukäš* 'carter'.

-l/-il — an affix of the passive voice: *jaz-* 'to write' — *jezil-* 'to be written'.

-la — an affix of nominal verb derivation; its phonetic variant is *-da*; e.g. *bas* 'head' — *bašla-* 'to begin'; *iz* 'trace' — *izdä-* 'to trace'. In the combination with the formants of the reflexive, reciprocal and causative voices this affix gave new affixes *-lan*, *-laš*, *-lat*, some of which being considered indivisible in the modern language (cf. below).

-laq — used to derive from substantives the name of a locality abounding in something: *taš* 'rock' — *tašlaq* 'a rocky terrain'; *ot* 'grass' — *otlaq* 'pasture'; *qïš* 'winter' — *qïšlaq* 'winter lodge'.

-lan — an affix, indivisible in the modern language; derives intransitive and reflexive verbs from substantives and numerals: *šübhä* 'doubt' — *šübhilan-* 'to doubt'; *ikki* 'two' — *ikkilan-* 'to waver'; *dust* 'friend' — *dustlan-* 'to make friends'.

-lap — consists of the verbal affix *-la* and the past gerundive affix *-p*; derives adverbs from various parts of speech: *jaxši* 'good', 'well' — *jaxšilap* 'in a friendly way'; *harva* 'cart' — *harvulap* 'in carts'; *qïš* 'winter' — *gïšlap* 'in winter'.

-larcä — consists of the plural affix and the affix *-cä*; derives adverbs: *qähriman* 'hero' — *qährimanlarcä* 'heroically'; *bala* 'child' — *balilarcä* 'childishly'.

-laš — an affix indivisible in the modern language; derives verbs with the reciprocal and sometimes reflexive meaning from substantives, numerals and adjectives: *bir* 'one' — *birläš-* 'to unite', *dust* 'friend' — *dustlaš-* 'to make friends'.

-lïq/-lik I — derives adjectives from substantives and numerals; expresses the possession of an object, quality or feature denoted by the original noun: *kuc* 'strength' — *küclük* 'strong', *planlïq* 'planned'; *on* 'ten' — *onluq* 'decimal'.

-lïq/-lik II — derives the name of an inhabitant from the name of a location: *Bed3in* 'Peking' — *bed3inlik* 'an inhabitant of Peking'; *šähar* 'city' — *šähärlik* 'urban', 'city-dweller'.

-lïq/-lik III — when added to substantives with a concrete meaning derives substantives with a concrete collective mean-

ing of a locality abounding in objects denoted by the original noun: *tas* 'stone' – *taš'lïq* 'rocky terrain'; *qum* 'sand' – *qumluq* 'the sands'; *qoğun* 'melon' – *qoğunluq* 'a plantation of melons'. The same affix derives substantives from the substantives with concrete meanings to denote objects having a definite purpose determined by the semantics of the stem: *tün* 'night' – *tünlük* 'flue'; *därs* 'lesson' – *darslik* 'manual'.

-lïq/-lik IV – derives nouns with abstract meanings from adjectives: *jaxši* 'good' – *jaxšilïq* 'goodness'; *baj* 'rich' – *bajlïq* 'richness'; *qïzïl* 'red' – *qïzïllïq* 'redness'.

-m/-im – derives verbal nouns: *böl-* 'to divide' – *bölüm* 'division'; *öl-* 'to die' – *ölüm* 'death'; *kir-* 'to enter' – *kirim* 'arrival'; *cïq-* 'to come out' – *cïqïm* 'spending'. Some of the substantives derived by means of this affix may take on a diminutive affix *-cä*: *bölümcä* 'sub-division'.

-ma/-mä – derives substantives and adjectives with different meanings from verbal stems: *süz-* 'to skim' – *süzmä* 'skim milk'; *jaz-* 'to write' – *jazma* 'manuscript'; *ujuš-* 'to unite' – *ujušma* 'union'; *as-* 'to hang' – *asma* 'hanging'; *bas-* 'to print' – *basma* 'printed'.

-maq/-mäk I – derives names of action which are synonymous to the names of action in *-š*; at present used as the infinitive: *jazmaq* 'writing' and 'to write'. The names of action in *-maq* are often combined with the affix *- lïq*, the resulting verbal nouns express names of actions: *jazmaqlïq* 'writing'.

-maq/-mäk II – derives nouns denoting the names of objects from verbs: *oj-* 'to hollow' – *ojmaq* 'thimble'; *quj-* 'to pour' – *qujmaq* 'pancake'; *tap-* 'to find' – *tepišmaq* 'riddle'.

-maslïq/-mäslik – consists of the verbal negation *-ma/-mä*, the formant of the negative present-future participle *-s* and the nominalising affix *-lïq*. The affix *maslïq/-mäslik* derives the negative form of the name of action in *-s*, as well as abstract substantives: *jaz-* 'to write' – *jazmaslïq* 'not writing'; *keräk* 'necessary' – *keräkmäslik* 'not a necessity'.

-men (-mänd) – an affix of Farsi origin, when added to Arabic or Farsi nouns derives substantives and adjectives denoting the possession of an object expressed by the stem: *ajal* 'woman' – *ajalmänd* 'married'; *hünär* 'art', 'craft' – *hünärmän* 'craftsman'; *arzu* 'desire' – *arzumän* 'desirous'.

-miš – an affix of the old form of the past participle; at present unproductive; replaced by the participle in *-ğan/-gän*: *öt-* 'to pass' – *ötmüš* 'past'; *jaz-* 'to write' – *jazmiš* 'writ' (in a transferred sense: 'fate').

-n/-in – an affix which forms the reflexive voice (also forms the passive voice from the stems ending in a vowel, or sonants *n* and *l*): *al-* 'to take' – *elin-* 'to be taken'; *kör-* 'to see' – *körün* 'to appear'.

-namä – goes back to a Farsi word meaning 'letter'; derives the names of written documents: *šärt* 'condition' – *šärtnamä* 'treaty'; *bajan* 'explanation' - *bajannamä* 'communique', 'declaration'.

-ndi/-indi – derives verbal nouns denoting the result of an action expressed by the stem: *qïr-* 'to scrap' – *qïrindi* 'scraps'; *asra-* 'to support', 'to feed' – *asrandi* 'adopted child'.

-niqï/-niki – a compound affix going back to the Genitive affix *-ning* and the adjectival affix *-ki*; derives possessive pronouns: *män* 'I' – *meningki* > *meniki* 'my'; *silä* 'you' – *siliningki* > *silärniki* > *siliniki* 'your'.

-ningki – cf. *-nigï/-niki*.

-nci/-inci – forms ordinal numerals and adjectives from cardinal numerals and substantives with the meaning of order, sequence: *on* 'ten' – *onunci* 'tenth'; *ottura* 'middle' – *otturinci* 'middle (adj.)' (sometimes *otturamči*);

-päz – an affix of Farsi origin, derives names of professions from substantives: *aš* 'food' – *ašpäz* 'cook'; *samsa* 'cakes' - *samsipäz* 'cake-maker'.

-päräst – an affix of Farsi origin going back to the corresponding participle meaning 'worshipping'; derives substantives denoting a person's inclining or attitude: *atäš* 'fire' (not used independently in the modern language) – *atäšpäräst* 'fire-worshipper'; *uruš* 'war' – *urušpäräst* 'war adherent'; *but* 'idol' – *butpäräst* 'idol-worshipper'.

-pärvär — an affix of Farsi origin, going back to a participle meaning 'solicitous', 'careful'; derives sustantives denoting a person's disposition from Arabic nouns: *täräqqij* 'progress' — *taräqqijpärvär* 'progressist'; *vätän* 'country' — *vätänpärvär* 'patriot'.

-purus̆ — an affix of Farsi origin meaning 'selling'; derives concrete names of traders from the object of their trade: *alma* 'apple' — *almipurus̆* 'apple trader'; *cajpurus̆* 'tea trader'.

-r/-ïr/-īr/-ur/ür — an affix of the causative voice: *öc-* 'to go out' — *öcür-* 'to put out'; *piš-* 'to be cooked' — *pisür-* 'to cook'.

-saz — an affix of Farsi origin; derives the names of persons adjusting or making objects denoted by the deriving substantive: *saät* 'watch' — *saätsaz* 'watchmaker'; *mašinäsaz* 'machine builder'. When the affix *-lïq* is added to such words, the name of an industry branch is formed: *mašinasazlïq* 'machine building'.

-sät — a very seldom attested affix of the causative voice: *kör-* 'to see' — *körsät-* 'to show'.

-siz — an affix deriving adjectives from all parts of speech; expresses the absence of an object denoted by the stem: *eqïl* 'intellect' — *eqïlsiz* 'stupid'; *sän* 'you' — *sänsiz* 'without you', 'in your absence'; *toluq* 'complete' — *toluqsiz* 'incomplete'. When these adjectives receive the affix *-lïq*, substantives with an abstract negative meaning are formed: *pul* 'money' — *pulsiz* 'moneyless' — *pulsizlïq* 'the state of being without money'.

-siman — derives adjectives with a meaning of similarity from nouns: *tuman* 'fog' — *tumansiman* 'fog-like'; *gaz* 'gas' — *gazsiman* 'gas-like'.

-sira — an affix by means of which nouns may be turned into verbs with a meaning of wish (depending on the semantics of the stem), or with a meaning of a weakened degree of an action or state expressed by the stem, e.g. *qan* 'blood' — *qansira-* 'to thirst for blood'; *ujqu* 'sleep' — *uijqïsira-* 'to doze'.

-stan — an affix of Farsi origin, deriving the name of a country from the name of the people, or the name of a locality

from the name of a characteristic object: *Qazaqstan* 'the country of the Kazakhs'; *Tatarstan* 'Tataria'; *gül* 'rose' — *gülüstan* 'rosary', 'flower bed'; *Dağïstan* 'Daghestan' (*lit;* 'the country of the mountains'); there is an interesting formation *zimistan* 'winter'. Such words may take on the affix *-lïq* giving the name of an inhabitant of a given country or locality: *tatarstanlïq* 'a person from Tataria'.

-t — an affix of the causative voice : *oqu-* 'to read' — *oqut-* 'to teach'.

-xana — goes back to a Farsi word meaning 'house', 'home'; in Uigur it is used to derive the names of offices, enterprises, etc., e.g. *poctixana* 'post-office', *konsulxana* 'consulate', *aš̆xana* 'canteen', *dämbuxana* 'telegraph'.

-xor — goes back to a Farsi participle meaning 'drinking', 'eating'; added to substantives, denotes persons who habitually consume the product, or object expressed by the root stem: *haraq* 'vodka' — *haraqxor* 'drunkard'; *cajxor* 'tea drinker'; *ǯazana* 'bribe' — *ǯazanixor* 'briber'.

-čan — derives adjectives meaning 'capable of or inclined to an action or state denoted by the deriving substantive': *ujqu* 'sleep' — *ujqučan* 'drowsy'; *ujat* 'shame' — *ujatčan* 'bashful'. The affix *-lïq* may be added to such an adjective, deriving substantives expressing general inclinations or attitudes: *ujqučanlïq* 'sleepiness'; *ujatčanlïq* 'bashfulness'; *is* 'work' — *iš̆cän* 'hard-working man' — *iš̆canlik* 'efficiency'.

-čä I — an affix of Farsi origin; derives diminutives from substantives: *kitap* 'book' — *kitapčä* 'booklet'; *qïz* 'girl' — *qïzčä* 'little girl'.

-čä II — derives the adverbs of comparison or similarity; this affix may be preceded by the formants of the plural form, genitive case and possessivity; e.g. *uiğurčä* 'in the Uigur manner', 'in Uigur', *meningčä* 'as to me'; *qährimanlarčä* 'heroically'; *ajtqïningizčä* 'just as you have told'.

-čä III — derives diminutive adjectives from adjectives: *uzun* 'long' — *uzunčä* 'somewhat long'.

-či — one of the most productive nominalising affixes; derives nom. act. from substantives and numerals: *tängzä* 'stall' — *tängzičči* 'peddler', 'petty trader'; *xang* 'mine' — *xangči* 'miner'; *ming* 'thousand' — *mingči* 'a person who performs or gets something which amounts to a thousand units of measurement'; when added to a proper name, the affix *-či* forms a noun denoting a follower or adherent of the deriving proper name: *leninči* 'leninist'; *mičurinči* 'a follower of Michurin'; the addition of the affix *-lïq* to such nouns produces names of professions or occupations: *tängzičilïq* 'petty tradesmanship'.

-čil — derives substantives expressing an inclination, preference towards an object denoted by the deriving substantive: *xälq* 'people' — *xälqčil* 'populist'; *iz* 'trace' — *izčil* 'follower'. The addition of *-lïq* to such nouns produces abstract substantives: *izčilik* 'consistency'.

-cilïq — consists of the affixes *-či* and *-lïq*, derives names of states or situations from adjectives and adverbs: *köp* 'many' — *köp-čilik* 'the majority'; *abadan* 'well-arranged' — *abadančilïq* 'welfare'.

-š/-iš/-iš I — forms the names of action from all verbal voices, as well as from derivative, compound and complexverbs: *jaz-* 'to write' — *jeziš* 'writing' (cf. the passive voice *jeziliš*, the causative voice *jazduruš-*, the reciprocal voice *jezišiš-*, etc.).

-š/-iš/-uš II — forms the reciprocal voice: *jaz-* 'to write' — *jeziš-* 'to correspond'.

-šunas — goes back to a Farsi participle meaning 'knowing'; derives substantives denoting a specialist, professional in a field expressed by the deriving stem: *xänsu* 'Chinese' — *xänsušunas* 'Sinologist'; *D3ungo* 'China' — *d3ungošunas* 'a specialist in China'; *šärq* 'east' — *šärqsunas* 'orientalist'.

When the affix *-lïq* is added to such words, the names of the corresponding disciplines and fields of science are formed: *xänsušunaslïq* 'Sinology', *d3ungošunaslïq* 'the study of China'.

Word composition plays an important role in the Uigur word derivation. The following are some of the examples of compound

words built by means of a combination of two independent words: *tömürjol* 'railroad'; *tašjol* 'highway'; *aqköngül* 'open-hearted'; *aqquš* 'swan'. Compound words may in their turn receive derivative affixes and form new words, e.g. *ackö̈z* 'greedy' (*ac* 'hungry', *kö̈z* 'eye') — *ackö̈zlük* 'greediness', *aqköngüllük* 'open-heartedness', etc.

Reduplicated words are very common in Uigur (cf. Section "Vocabulary"). They include reduplicated words whose components are repeated, e.g. *bara-bara* 'in the course of time'; *nurğun-nurğun* 'multitude' (*lit.* 'many-many'), etc. One of the components may combine with a particle, or a form-building affix may be added to it, e.g. *közmä-köz* 'eye to eye'; *qolma-qol* 'directly' — *qol* 'hand'; *käjni-käjnidin* 'in chain', 'one after another'; *on-ondin* 'in tens', etc.

This group also includes words in which the second component is a phonetic variant of the first one, e.g. *nan-pan* 'food' (*nan* 'bread'), *caj-paj* 'drink' (*caj* 'tea'). It finally contains reduplicated pronouns whose second component may be regarded as a variant of the first, although it has an independent meaning, e.g. *andaq-mundaq* 'this and that', *u-bu* 'something or other'.

SYNTAX [36]

THE SENTENCE

Forms of Relations Between Words

The main rule of the Uigur syntax is preposition of the dependent, subordinate words. This rule is reflected in the fact that an attribute always precedes its qualified word (*qïzil qäläm* 'red pencil', *ölüm d3azisi* 'death penalty'), the direct object and adverbial modifiers precede the governing word (*xät oqudi* 'he read the letter', *tünügün käldi* 'he came yesterday'). The main governing word which, consequently, occupies the final position

[36] The section on syntax is written by R.F. Tarasenko of the Soviet Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute.

in the sentence is the predicate[37]. The subject, objects and adverbial modifiers precede the predicate as the words governed and determined by it. The pattern of the simple sentence may be described as follows:

I ⇄ II		III	IV	V	VI
Subject	The adverbial modifier of place or time	Indirect object	Direct object	The adverbial modifier of manner	Predicate

The following sentences correspond to this pattern and are standard for the usage of press and fiction: *Xälqimiz xälq bağcisida dövlät bajrimini xošal-xoram täbriklimäktä* 'Our people celebrates the national day joifully and gaily in the city park'; *Bu žili jazda partijä dixan carvicilarni teximu congutuqlarğa caqirdi* 'In summer of this year the Party called upon the peasants and cattle-breeders to achieve ever greater successes'; *Bu fabrikida 1952-žili 1-ijül küni iš bašlinip kätti* 'The work at this plant began on July 1, 1952'. As in other languages in Uigur there is a possibility of modifying word order connected with a shift in logical emphasis: a part of sentence which attracts the logical stress is placed immediately before the predicate. Thus, the word order in the sentence *Tünügün joldušum Sind3andin käldi* 'Yesterday a friend of mine came from Sinkiang' is changed in the following way: *Joldušum Sind3andin tünügün käldi* 'A friend of mine came from Sinkiang yesterday' depending on a change in logical stress (the logical stress falls on the adverbial modifier of time *tünügün* in the second sentence; the modifier is placed immediately before the predicate).

Free word order is admissible in colloquial speech, as well as in the language of fiction. Thus, in the sentence *Ketištin bašqa ilad3i joq edi uninğa* 'There was nothing for him to do but

[37] V.M. Nasilov, *Grammatika uigurskogo jazyka*, M., 1940, pp. 31, 32.

to leave' the indirect object *uninğa* 'him', 'for him' is in the final position, i.e. in the place usually occupied by the predicate; *"Täbriklājmän sizni" — qolini bärdi Gülhäsäl uninğa semimi halda* '"I congratulate you" — *Gülhäsäl* offered him her hand sincerely', here the conventional word order is also changed: an adverbial modifier of manner occupies the place of the predicate, the word *däp* which usually introduces direct speech is omitted; *Tolup kätti xošalliqqa dixanlarning žürügi* 'The peasants' hearts overflowed with joy' — the predicate *tolup kätti* is at the beginning of the sentence. However, the pattern which is described as standard is still the norm of literary Uigur in spite of these deviations.

The stantard syntactical relations between the words in Uigur are juxtaposition, government and isaphet.

Juxtaposition is the oldest form of syntactical relations;[38] it is characterised by the absence of any morphological organisation of the components of word combination; the components are simply juxtaposed, the word order being standard Uigur (the dependent word is placed before the word to which it refers), e.g. *kicik bala* 'little child'; *kälgän kiši* 'a man who came'.

Finite and non-finite verb forms as well as postpositives may govern the case forms in Uigur. The ability of verbal nouns to preserve verbal characteristics is widely exploited in complex sentences, e.g. *Bu dokladarni qïzğin himajä qilidiğanliqlarimizni bildurumiz* 'We declare that we wholeheartedly support these reports', where the object is introduced into the main clause by means of a secondary verbal noun *qilidiğanliq* which has the plural affix, the first person plural possessivity affix *-imiz* and the affix of the Accusative *-ni*. The words governed by the verbal noun *qilidiğanliq* are placed before it: the direct object *bu dokladlarni* 'these reports' and the adverbial modifier of manner *qïzğïn* 'wholeheartedly'; *Sizning härbi säpkä kirišingizgä ailingiz razi*

[38] Cf. N.K. Dmitriev, *Stroj turetskogo jazyka*, Leningrad, 1939, p. 50.

bolmisa keräk 'Your wife, apparently, will not agree to your going to military service' – here the indirect object clause is introduced into the main clause by means of the name of action in *-iš – kiriš*, which has the polite form of the 2nd person possessivity affix *-ingiz* (indicates the subject of action) and the Lative affix *-gä*; the name of action *kiriš* governs the noun *säp* which precedes it.

Turkologists define the isaphet construction as "attributive word combination of substantives".[39] The mechanism of the isaphet consists in the fact that the use of a substantive attribute requires the addition of a morphological indicator of the syntactic relation (the third person possessivity affix *-i/-si*) to the qualified word, e.g. *ujğur xälqi* 'the Uigur people', *Kommunistlar partijäsi* 'the Communist Party', *qazaq qïzliri* 'the Kazakh girls'. The attribute as well as the qualified word may appear both in the plural and singular. Two types of isaphet constructions are distinguished in Uigur: one- and two-affix combinations. One-affix combinations are characterised by the attribute being in the zero form (Common case form), it is combined with the qualified word by means of juxtaposition (cf. the above-given examples); the meaning of the complex is determined by that of its components. Two-affix combinations are characterised by the fact that both components have morphological formants. The attribute is in the Genitive. Such combinations usually denote possession: *joldušumning dadisi* 'my friend's father'; *Xäsändžanning gäzivi* 'Xasändžan's anger'. Government appears to be used in these combinations instead of juxtaposition. This makes it possible for members of the isaphet (especially the qualified word) to be supplemented by additional constructions, e.g. *Bu Ɂasimning džungoni birinci qetim zijarät qiliši* 'This is *Ɂasim's* first visit to China'; a group of additional attributes to the qualified word is inserted between the latter (*zijarät qilisi*) and the main

[39] Cf. S.S.Majzel, *Izafet v turetskom jazyke*, M.-L., 1957.

attribute *Ɂasimning*. The fact that the main components of the attributive word combination have special grammatical formants serves to identify extended syntactic word combinations expressing a single part of sentence or incorporated clause. Thus in the following sentences composition of the incorporated clauses is easily identifiable owing to isaphet relations between the attributes and qualified words: *Sämätning Urumcidin tünügün kälgänligini bilmidi* 'She did not know that *Sämät* had come from Urumchi the day before'; *Ɂasim dadisining nägä ketip barğanliğini bilmäjtti* '*Ɂasim* did not know where his father had gone' (the incorporated sentences are *Sämätning Urumcidin tünügün kälgänligini* '*Sämät's* arrival from Urumchi' and *Dadisining nägä ketip barğanliğini* 'Where his father had gone'). Isaphet combinations have developed from attributive substantival juxtapositive word combinations whose use is becoming ever more restricted - in Modern Uigur such combinations develop into lexico-semantic units: *tömür jol* 'railway', *taš jol* 'highway' (*lit.* 'stone way'), *altun saät* 'golden watch', etc.

Parts of Sentence

Any part of sentence may be expressed by either a separate word or word combination. The borders of word combinations may be established owing to the expression of the category of possessivity and isaphet constructions.

The subject always agrees with the predicate in person and number and may be expressed by substantives, personal and demonstrative pronouns and other substantivised parts of speech (in the Turkic languages substantivation is mainly effected through the categories of possesivity and number - plural), e.g. *Ikkincisi gäpni bölüp kesip parang qilišqa bašlidi* 'The second one interrupted the conversation and began talking himself'; *Kicigi oğul bala edi* 'The younger of them is a boy' (in the first example the subject is expressed by the substantivised ordinal numeral *ikkinci*, while in the second - by the substantivised attribute *kicik*).

The predicate in an Uigur sentence may be expressed by

all nominal parts of speech (nominal predicate) as well as by the finite forms of the verb (verbal predicate). Thus, in the sentence *Gülsän aq köngül qiz* 'Gülsän is a good girl' the predicate is expressed by an attributive nominal word combination *aq köngül qiz* 'a good girl'. In the sentence *Bu kiši muällim ämäs* 'This man is not a teacher' the predicate is expressed by a substantive *muällim* 'teacher' plus the nominal negation *ämäs*.

In sentences with the predicate expressed by the predicative nouns *bar* 'there is' and *joq* 'there is no' the subject receives possessive affixes, e.g. *Däptirim bar* 'I have a copy-book'; *Dadisi joq* 'He has no father'. The category of possessivity is also used in sentences with nominal predicates expressed by the modal words *keräk* 'necessary', *mümkün* 'possible', 'may', *lazim, zärür* 'necessary', 'ought'. In such sentences the logical subject of the action is identified by the addition of a possessivity affix to the subject, e.g. *Bizning texi ügünüšimiz keräk* 'We still have to learn'; *Uni sanga ejtišim keräk* 'I have to tell you about it'; *Braq päxäs bolušung keräk* 'But you ought to be careful'. In Modern Uigur the logical subject in such sentences is often expressed under the influence of Russina by the Common case instead of the usual Genitive, e.g. *Sän qelising keräk* 'You ought to stay'; *Biz ittipaqlišip birliktä küräš qilišimiz keräk* 'We must unite and struggle together'.

The adverbial modifiers of time are expressed by 1) adverbs of time *hazir* 'now', *ämdi* 'at present', *burun* 'formerly', *aqšam* 'in the evening', *bügün* 'today', *tünügün* 'yesterday', *ärtä* 'tomorrow', *kecä* 'in the evening', etc., e.g. *Burun jäkkä išläjttuq, ämdi köpcülük billä išläjdigan bolduq* 'Formerly we worked separately, now the majority began to work collectively', *hazir apam öjdä joq* 'Now my mother is not at home'; 2) substantives with a temporal meaning in the Locative or in combination with the numeral *bir*, demonstrative pronouns or nouns specifying the notion being expressed plus the 3rd person singular possessive affix, e.g. *Otmüštä Sind3anda zavod, fabriklar joq degüdäk edi* 'In the past there were almost no plants and factories in Singkiang';

Bu žili Qäsqär dixanliri mol hosul almaqta 'This year Kashghar peasants are gathering abundant crops'; *Jäkšimbidä biz teatrga barimiz* 'On Sunday we shall go to the theatre'; 3) a combination of a noun with the postpositives *kejin, avval, burun, ilgiri, beri* and *itivarän* which govern the Ablative case and the postpositive *qädär* which governs the Lative case, e.g. *Uc kündin kejin keling* 'Come in three days'; *Bu žilga qädär Polat jäkkä išläjtti* 'Pulat worked separately until this year'.

The adverbial modifiers of place are expressed by 1) adverbs of place: *bujärdä, ujärdä, bujärgä, ujärgä. bujärdin, ujärdin, mäšädä* etc., e.g. *Bujärdä tamaka cekiš mümkün ämäs* 'No smoking here'; *Kät bujärdin* 'Go away from here!'; 2) nouns in spatial cases: *Toxta hazir öjdä joq* 'Toxta is not at home now'; *Sämät uningga törding orun körsätti* 'Sämät offered him a place in the honorary corner'; 3) combinations of nouns with subordinate nouns: *ald, jan, qaš, taš, ic, arqa, täräp*, e.g. *Nisaxan d3oza jenida oltargan edi* 'Nisaxan sat at the table'; *Mäjli ämdi ularning qešiga barsam baraj* 'Well then, I shall go to them!'

The adverbial modifiers of purpose are expressed by 1) names of action in *-š/-iš* (more seldom in *-maq/-mäk*) in the Lative, e.g. *Bu išni muzakirä qilišqa kälduq* 'We came to discuss this problem', 2) the combination of the names of action in *-š/-iš, -maq/-mäk* with the postpositive *ücün*, e.g. *U congqur tinivaldi vä kätmäk ücün asta qozgaldi* 'He sighed deeply and slowly rose being prepared to leave'; *Sämät däptär eliš ücün kätti* 'Sämät went to buy a copy-book'; 3) gerundives in *-gili* (with variants), e.g. *Sän soqušušqa käldingmu jaki ojnigilimu?* 'Have you come to fight or play?'; *Siz bilän xošlašqini käldim* 'I have come to say good-bye to you'; 4) direct speech introduced by *däp*, e.g. *Ürümcigä oqujmän däp kätti* 'He went to Urumchi in order to study'; *Bu kommuna äzaliri mol hosul alimiz däp d3iddi išlävatidur* 'Members of this commune work diligently in order to reap rich harvests'.

The adverbial modifiers of cause are expressed by 1) nouns in the Ablative, e.g. *Anisi xošalligidin žiglap kätti*

'His mother burst into tears with joy'; 2) a combination of a noun or name of action with the postpositive *ücün*, e.g. *Siz ücün käldim* 'I came here because of you'; *U özining soaliğa d3avap beriš ücün qijnilatti* 'He suffered trying to find an answer to his question'; 3) gerundives in *-p/-ip*, e.g. *Terikip gäp qilalmaptu* 'He could not speak with rage'; *Ular öjlirigä ketišip üc ištin zijan tartti* 'They suffered in three ways because thy went home'.

The adverbial modifiers of manner are expressed by 1) adverbs *jaxši* 'well', *jaman* 'badly', *asta* 'slowly', *capsan* 'quickly', *qattiq* 'strongly', *pat-pat* 'frequently', 'quickly', 'at once', etc., e.g. *Tašqirida sivirğan qattīq urğan* 'storm raged in the yard'; *Kišilärning öjigä pat-pat joxlap berip turatti* 'She often visited the inhabitants'; 2) a combination of a noun with the postpositive *bilän*, e.g. *Nikah zorluq bilän ötkän* 'She was forcibly married'; 3) a noun or attributive nominal combination in the Locative, e.g. *U Ibrahimni top icidin ming täsliktä tapti* 'He found *Ibrahim* in the crowd only with great difficulty'; *Ana ğäzäp otida jenip titräjtti* 'Mother trembled with anger'; 4) a combination of nouns with subordinate nouns *räviš, sürät, hal, josun* in the Locative, e.g. *Xänipini mäd3buri halda Toxtiğa cetip qojdi* '*Xänipä* was forcibly betrothed to *Toxti*'; 5) a combination of the participle in *-ğan* (with variants) with the postpositives *peti, boji* as well as the affix *-ca/-cä*, e.g. *Märijä qaqaxlap külgän peti qacti* '*Maria* ran away with laughter'; *Xänipimu külgän boji uni qoglušup kätti* 'And *Xänipä* laughing ran after her'; *U žiğliğanca talağa ciqti* 'She went out into the yard weeping'; *U bešini tövän salğinicä asta mangmaqta* 'He went slowly, his head dropped low'; 6) past gerundives in *-p/-ip*, e.g. *Ornidin etilip turup oğlini qoliğa aldi* 'She rushed from her place and took her son into her hands'.

Indirect objects are expressed by nouns in the Lative or Ablative, e.g. *Muällim balilarğa üc däptärdin bärdi* 'The teacher gave three copy-books to each pupil'; *Tünügün joldušumdin xät aldim* 'Yesterday I received a letter from a friend of mine'.

The direct object in Uigur appears in the Common and Accusative cases. The oldest basic form of syntactic relations in

the Turkic languages - juxtaposition - which requires no morphological formants in the first component determined the form in which the direct object is combined with the governing predicate verb. In the following sentences direct objects occurring immediately before the governing verbs appear in the Common case: *Akisidin xävär bolmidi* 'There was no news from my elder brother'; *Avut Ibrahimğa ikki cinä caj kältürdi* '*Avut* brought *Ibrahim* two cups of tea'. When the direct object is separated from the governing verb morphological expression becomes necessary and the object is usually used in the Accusative as in the sentences: *Salamni manga bärdi* 'He greeted me' (cf. *U manga salam bärdi* 'He greeted me'); *D3avapni jenidiki altun cišlik kiši bärdi* 'A man with gold teeth who sat next answered'; here a change in the position of the direct object requires the use of the Accusative. Direct objects with extended attributes which qualify them sufficiently also appear in the Accusative, e.g. *Dukanda kona kijim kejgän bir kišini kördi* 'He saw a man in shabby clothes in the store'; *U xotuniğa joldiki väqilärni sozläp bärdi* 'He told his wife all that happened to him during his journey'; *Qazaq qizliri änä šundaq cäbdäs žigitlärni jaxši körüdur* 'Kazakh girls like such dexterous youths'. When a direct object carries a logical accent it appears in the Accusative regardless of its position immediately before the governing verb.

Homogeneous parts of sentence as in all Turkic languages may receive morphological formants each separately, but the usual practice would be to add morphological elements only to the final member of the series, e.g. *Mäšräpkä jas, qeri, är, ajal vä balilar qatnašidur* 'Youth and old people, men, women and children are taking part in the festivity' (the plural affix *-lar* is added to the last of the homogeneous subjects); *Dixanciliq, ormanciliq, carvaciliqta teximu cong utuqlarğa egä bolajli* 'Let us achieve ever greater progress in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry' (the Locative affix *-ta* is added to the last of the homogeneous parts of sentence). In a sentence with homogenous predicates it is only the final one which receives all the

necessary formants of the predicate, while others appear as past gerundives, e.g. *Äpändi bir žili kocida tinäp žürgän bir qojni ojigä elip kirip sojup jegen ekän* 'So once *Äpändi* drove the stray sheep home, killed it and ate'. The most characteristic feature of the colloquial speech and fiction is the addition of personal and tense affixes to each of the homogeneous predicates: *Qïz jänä qajtip kirdi vä jancuğidin bir parcä qäğäzni ciqirip uninggä sundi* 'The girl came in once more, took a piece of paper from her pocket and gave it to her' (the homogeneous predicates *kirdi* and *sundi* appear in the Past Categoric tense; they are linked by the conjunction *vä* 'and').

Types of Sentence

According to their purpose and character (emotional colouring) all sentences are divided into declarative, exclamatory, exhortative, and interrogative.

Declarative sentences may be unextended and extended. As the subject is always grammatically expressed in the structure of the predicative verb impersonal sentences do not exist in Uigur. Extended and complex sentences are characteristic of the usage of the press, fiction and political literature, while the colloquial speech is full of simple constructions.

Exclamatory sentences usually express approval or disapproval, delight or indignation. These emotions are also expressed by means of intonation as well as by adding special particles: *Cirajliq kecä hä! - dedi Ibrahim* '"What a wonderful night!" - *Ibrahim* said'; *Ujatsiz!* 'What a shame!'.

Exhortative sentences formally characterised by the presence of the Imperative-Optative express various shades of wish, volition, command (the predicate in these sentences is expressed by the Imperative forms for the 2nd and 3rd persons, and by the Optative for the 1st person), e.g. *Bu kitapni oqung* 'Read this book'; *Däptärliringlarni elinglar* 'Take your copybooks'; *Ärtä kälsün* 'Let him come tomorrow', etc. Exhortative sentences are especially widely used in various slogans and headings which contain appeals: *Millätlär ittipaqini kücäjtäjli*

'Let us strengthen the union between nationalities'; *Järlik sanaätni tez rivadžlandurajli* 'Let us develop rapidly local industries'.

Interrogative sentences in Uigur are formed by means of the interrogative particle *mu* placed after the word to which the question refers: *Bu däptär mu?* 'Is this a copy-book?'; *Joldušung muällim mu?* 'Is your friend a teacher?'. Verbal interrogative sentences in which the question refers to the predicate are formed with the help of the special interrogative form of various tenses as was illustrated in the section on morphology.

Complex and Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are formed by means of the coordinative conjunctions *vä* 'and', *lekin* 'however', *amma* 'but', *braq* 'however', as well as by expressing the predicate of the first clause by means of a past gerundive in *-p/-ip*, e.g. *Körgä qaranğuluq qeqildi vä qol-puti titräškä bašlidi* 'She saw dark, her feet and hands began to tremble'; *Patimä xät jazmidi, amma Sämät uninggä išinätti* '*Patimä* did not write any letters but *Sämät* was sure of her'; *Küz kelip Ibrahim akining ojini xošalliq qaplidi* 'Autumn came and *Ibrahim-aka's* house filled with joy'.

Complex sentences. The problem of complex sentences in the Turkic languages is rather complicated. The differences centre mainly around the problem of establishing the criteria for the definition of subordinate clauses. Some Turkologists consider the presence of predicates in finite form as the chief criterion of a subordinate clause[40]. Other Turkologists think that participial, gerundival and verbal noun forms possess predicativity and may thus function as predicates in subordinate

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40 Cf. M.S. Širaliyev, Složnopodčinennoe predloženie v azerbaijanskom jazyke, - "Voprosy jazykoznanija", 1956, N 1.

clauses.[41] The author adheres to the latter point of view because the subject of action may be expressed through the category of possessivity and because a consistent and regular system of sentence formation exists in Uigur.

In the complex sentence subordinate clauses always precede the main clause (except borrowed constructions) and are introduced by means of participles and the names of action in *-s/-is* (more seldom *-maq/-mäk*) to which case affixes are added. The expression of subordinate clauses through verbal nouns (participles and names of action) is possible owing to a double nature of the latter. As verbal forms they retain both morphological and syntactic features of the verb (e.g. government). At the same time they possess nominal features (declension, the categories of number and possessivity). In certain cases the subject of action is expressed in the participle itself: *Ajal bolǧunum üčün 3 fung beriŝti* 'They paid me 3 fungs because I am a woman'. Temporal meanings are expressed in a different manner in each separate case: in attributive clauses tense is usually expressed by lexical means owing to the increasing abstractness of particles in *-ǧan*; in adverbial clauses of time the temporal meaning of the participles is supplemented by postpositives, while in conditional and object clauses - by various tense forms of the particles and conditional mood, e.g. *Sizning ejtqanliringizni taza ojliduq* 'We gave much thought to what you had told'; *Bu ikki kiŝining qačan kelidiǧanliǧini soridi* 'He asked when those two men would come'. Adverbial clauses of cause are, for example, expressed by means of postpositives or the Ablative: *Putumda ötük bolǧanliqtin uni salǧica ot qaplapkätti* 'As I had high-boots on, the fire began to lick my feet while I was taking them off'. Spatial cases are used to render temporal clauses: *U iŝsiz qalǧanda xoŝnilar uningǧa pul ötnä berip turatti* 'When he was without a job the neighbours lent him money'.

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[41] N.Z. Gadžieva, Kriterii vydelenija pridatočn predloženij v turkskij jazykax - "Voprosy jazykoznanija", 1957, N 3.

APPENDICES

A Text Sample in Uigur

ئۇچرۇشۇش

كەچ مەزگىلى ئۇرۇمچى كوچىلىرىنى تاماشا قىلماقتىمەن. كوچىنىڭ ئېرىقى دوخمۇشىدىن ھىركەشى كوزىنى مېنىڭدىن ئۈزمەي قاراپ كېلەۋاتىدۇ. مەن ئوزەمنىڭ ئورقۇمدىن قورقۇنۇپ چاپانلىرىمنى قېقىشتۇرۇپ، قولاقچامنى ئوزەۋرەك كىيىپمۇ ئالدىم. ئەزدىرىپ كەتتىم ئېتىمالىم، پۇتۇن بەدىنلىرىم ئوت تېلىپ يېنىۋاتقاندەك بولدى. «نىمانچە قارايدىغاندۇ، بۇ ئادەم»

دەملۇم كىشى ماڭا يېقىنلىشىپ كېلەۋاتىدۇ. ئېغىچە مېنىڭدىن كوزىنى ئالغىنى يوق. ئۇنىڭ چىرايىدا يېقىن كەلگەنسېرى ئەزدىرىپ كۇلۇمسىرەش ئالامىتى پەيدا بولدى. ماڭا ئۇ ئەندى يېنىمدا. ئۇ ماڭا قول ئۇزۇتۇپ: «سىز مېنى ياخشى تونالمايۋاتسىز ھە:» ــ دېدى

(№ 9, 1959, «ئادەم»)

UČRUŠUŠ

Käc mäzgili. Urumci kocilirni tamasa qilmaqtimän. Kocining neriqi doxmusidin bir kisi közini meningdin üzmäj qarap kelivatidur. Män özämning turqumdin qorqunup capanlirimni qeqisturup qulaqcamni tüzävrak kijipmu aldim. Qizirip kättim etimalim pütün bädänlirim ot elip jenivatqandek boldi. "Nimanca qarajdiǧandur bu adäm?".

Namälüm kisi manga jeqinlisip kelivatidur; Texicä meningdin közini alǧini joq. Uning cirajida jeqin kälgänseri qizirip külümsiräs alamiti päjda boldi. "Mana, ändi jenimda. U manga qol üzütüp "Siz meni jaxsi tonalmajvatisizhä?" dedi.

TRANSLATION

Meeting

Evening (evening time). I am strolling through the streets of Urumchi. A man is coming up from across the opposite side of the street, he does not take his eyes away from me. I felt ill at ease on account of my appearance and tried to put my dress and headwear in order. I probably even turned a bit red. I felt hot. "I wonder why this man keeps looking at me in such a way " The unknown man comes nearer and nearer and still does not take his eyes away from me. As he approaches his face begins to beam in a smile. Then he came right up to me and holding out hishand said: "You don't seem to recognize me, do you?"

The words and lexico-grammatical commentary to the text

كەچ *käc* 'evening'.

مەزگىل *mäzgil* 'period', 'time', 'season'; كەچ مەزگىلى *käc mäzgili* 'evening time'.

ئۇرۇمچى *Urumci* 'the name of a town'.

كوچا *koca* 'street'; كوچىلىرى ئۇرۇمچى *Urumci kociliri* 'the streets of Urumchi'; used in the Accusative in the text.

تاماشا *tamaša* 'walk', 'contemplation', 'stroll'.

قىلماق *qīlmaq* 'to do'; تاماشا قىلماق *tamaša qīlmaq* 'to contemplate', 'to walk'.

نېرى *neri* 'on the other side', 'beyond', 'outside', 'thither'; نېرىقى *neriqi* 'remote'.

دوخموش *doxmuš* 'corner'; كوچىنىڭ دوخموشى *kocining doxmuši* 'street corner'; used in the Ablative in the text.

بىر *bir* 'one'.

كىشى *kiši* 'man': بىر كىشى *bir kiši* 'someone'.

كۆز *köz* 'eye'; كۆزى *közi* 'his eye', 'one's eye'; used in the Accusative in the text.

مەن *män* 'I'; مېنىڭ *mening* - the Genitive; مېنىڭدىن *meningdin* - the Ablative.

ئۈزمەك *üzmäk* 'to tear away'; ئۈزمەي *üzmäj* - the negative form of the future-present gerundive.

قارىماق *qarimaq* 'to look'; قاراپ *qarap* - the past gerundive.

كەلمەك *kälmäk* 'to come'; كېلىۋاتىدۇ *kelivatidu* - a present tense of the given moment.

ئۆز *öz* 'self', 'own'; ئۆزۈم *özäm* 'I myself'; ئۆزىمنىڭ *özämning* - the Genitive.

تۇرۇق *turuq* 'appearance'; تۇرقۇم *turqum* 'my appearance'; ئۆزىمنىڭ تۇرقۇم *özämning turqum* 'my own appearance'; ئۆزىمنىڭ تۇرقۇمدىن *özämning turqumdin* - the Ablative.

قورقماق *qorqmaq* 'to fear' قورقۇنماق *qorqunmaq* - the Passive Voice; قورقۇنۇپ *qorqunup* - the past gerundive.

چاپان *capan* 'gown', 'outer dress'; چاپانلار *capanlar* - pl.; چاپانلىرىم *capanlirim* 'my dress'; چاپانلىرىمنى *capanlirimni* - the Accusative.

قاقماق *qaqmaq* 'to shake off'; قېقىشماق *qeqišmaq* - the Mutual-Reciprocal Voice; قېقىشتۇرماق *qeqišturmaq* - the Causative Voice; قېقىشتۇروپ *qeqišturup* - the past gerundive.

قۇلاقچە *qulaqcä* 'cap', 'fur-cap'; قۇلاقچام *qulaqcam* 'my cap', قۇلاقچامنى *qulaqcamni* - the Accusative. تۈزىمەك *tüzimäk* 'to straighten up', 'to fix'; *tüzäp* - the past gerundive; تۈزەپ *tüzäräk* 'slightly fixing up'.

تۈزەڭەك *kijmäk* 'to put on'; كىيىپ *kijip* - the past gerundive.

مۇ *mu* - a connecting emphatic particle.

ئالماق *almaq* 'to take', 'to get'; كىيىپمۇ ئالماق *kijipmu almaq* 'to put on /oneself/'; ئالدىم *aldim* - the 1st pers. sg. past

قىزارماق *qizarmaq* 'to turn red'; قىزىرىپ *qizirip* - the past gerundive.

كەتمەك *kätmäk* 'to leave', 'to go away'; كەتتىم *kättim* - the 1st pers. sg. past; قىزىرىپ كەتمەك *qizirip kätmäk* 'to turn red', 'to become red' (instantly).

ئېتىمالىم *etimalim* 'may be', 'possibly'.

پۈتۈن *pütün* 'all', 'everything'.

بەدەن *bädän* 'body'; بەدەنلەر *bädänlär* - pl.; پۈتۈن بەدەنلىرىم *pütün bädänlirim* 'all my body'.

ئوت *ot* 'fire'; ئوت ئالماق *ot almaq* 'to burn', 'to catch fire'.

يانماق *janmaq* 'to burn'; يېنىۋاتقان *jenivatqan* - the present participle; يېنىۋاتقاندەك *jenivatqandäk* 'as if burning'.

بولماق *bolmaq* 'to be', 'to become'; بولدى *boldi* - the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. past.

نىمانچە *nimancä* // نېمە ئانچە *nimä* ančä 'why so?'

قارىماق *qarimaq* 'to look'; قارايدىغان *qarajdiγan* - the future-present participle; قارايدىغاندۇ *qarajdiγandu* - the present tense form.

بۇ *bu* 'this'.

ئادەم *adäm* 'man'.

مەلۇم *mälüm* 'known'; نامەلۇم *namälüm* 'unknown'.

مەن *män* 'I'; ماڭا *manga* - the Lative.

يېقىن *jeqin* 'near'; يېقىنلاشماق *jeqinlašmaq* 'to approach'; يېقىنلىشىپ *jeqinlišip* - the past gerundive.

تېخى *texi* 'still'; تېخىچە *texicä* 'as yet'.

ئالماق *almaq* 'to take', 'to get'; ئالغان *alγan* - the past participle; ئالغىنى يوق *alγini joq* 'he did not take'.

كۆزىنى ئالغىنى يوق *közini alγini joq* 'he did not take his eyes away'.

ئۇ *u* 'he'; ئۇنىڭ *uning* - the Genitive.

چىراى *ciraj* 'face', 'visage'; ئۇنىڭ چىرايى *uning ciraji* 'his face'; ئۇنىڭ چىرايىدا *uning cirajida* - the Locative

كەلمەك *kälmäk* 'to come', 'to arrive'; كەلگەن *kälgän* the past participle; كەلگەنسېرى *kälgänseri* 'as he approached'.

كۈلمەك *külmäk* 'to laugh'; كۈلۈمسىرىمەك *külümsirimäk* 'to smile'; كۈلۈمسىرەش *külümsiräš* 'smile'.

ئالامەت *alamät* 'sign', 'feature' ئالامىتى كۈلۈمسىرەش *külümsiräš alamiti* 'a trace of a smile'.

پەيدا *päjda* 'emergence', 'appearance'; پەيدا بولماق *päjda bolmaq* 'to emerge', 'to appear'.

مانا *mana* 'so', 'thus'.

ئەندى *ändi* 'now'.

يان *jan* 'side', يېنىم *jenim* 'my side'; يېنىمدا *jenimda* - the Locative.

قول *qol* 'hand'.

ئۈزاتماق *üzatmaq* 'to hold forth'.

سىز *siz* 'you (polite)'.

مەن *män* 'I'; مېنى *meni* - the Accusative.

ياخشى *jaxši* 'good', 'well'.

تونۇماق *tonumaq* 'to recognize'; تونالماق *tonalmaq* 'to be able to recognize'; تونالمايۋاتىسىز *tonalmaj vatisiz* - the negative form of the present tense of the given moment from the Potentialis.

دېمەك *demäk* 'to speak', 'to say'; دېدى *dedi* - the 3rd pers. past.

ھە *hä* 'yes', 'in all probability', 'it seems'.

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